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STATEMENTS OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

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HEARINGS

(with subsequent staff interviews)

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PART 3

MARCH 25, 1970

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J. G. SOWINE, *Chief Counsel*

JOHN R. NORFEL, *Director of Research*

ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*

RESOLUTION

Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the attached Resolution relating to the citation of Robert F. Williams for contempt of the Senate be reported favorably to the Committee on the Judiciary; together with the attached draft report thereon.

Approved October 2, 1971.

(NOTE.—The resolution and draft report referred to above are printed separately. On page 3, the draft report states: "The Report of Proceedings, or Transcript, covering Williams' appearance before the subcommittee on February 16, 1970, and March 24 and 25, 1970, separately printed, is transmitted herewith and is expressly made a part hereof by reference.")

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1970

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee staff conference met, following a recess from the previous day, at 2:15 p.m., in room S-146, U.S. Capitol.

Present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; John R. Norpel, Jr., research director; and Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, ACCOMPANIED BY ROGER CRAIG, COUNSEL, IN STAFF CONFERENCE INTERVIEW

Mr. SOURWINE. In October 1967 you had some contacts with a Brenly Benn. I do not know whether that is his true name or code name. Can you tell us?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know. I suppose it is his true name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Mr. Benn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This time the man came from Ghana. He wanted to see me. And he said he wanted to read my publications.

Mr. SOURWINE. Personal business?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, political.

Mr. SOURWINE. On February 2, 1968 you were visited by one Asa. Who was he, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was a woman, an African woman, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. A-s-a?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That was an African woman. It was just a personal visit to my wife.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Shirley Graham DuBois?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she the wife of the late Dr. DuBois after whom the DuBois Clubs were founded?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, she is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for February 4 was that Shirley Graham DuBois had come by talking about the need of white allies. And you have given your code sign which you agreed at the last session meant baloney; BS; can you recall any of this discussion? Was it just general, philosophical, or was there something specific about particular assistance, or somebody offering particular assistance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it was only in general, and discussing the problems of black people. Because she is actually an African, she has got African citizenship.

Mr. SOURWINE. You expressed yourself that the international movement is not going to help your people. By international movement did you have any particular international movement in mind, or just the whole world?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The whole international movement as far as political groups in the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. You meant really, then, that the black people in this country are going to have to fight their own battles, they are not going to get any help from outside the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Counsel is quite willing to stipulate that the quote attributed to Mr. Williams, "convinced that international movement is not going to help our people," is from his diary under the date of February 4, 1968.

Mr. CRAIG. Thank you, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have almost concluded discussing the diary. I am sorry it was necessary to take those matters up.

Your diary entry of September 5, 1968 contained an item "Writes statement on New Africa as requested by William Worthy for Esquire Magazine." Who is William Worthy, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is a journalist working for the Baltimore Afro-American.

Mr. SOURWINE. He does not work for Esquire?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is also a free lance writer, so I suppose he also works for Esquire too.

Mr. SOURWINE. This says you wrote a statement. He wasn't writing it, you wrote it, is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They wanted it for the magazine. It wasn't actually for him, it was for the magazine, as to what my position was on the Republic of New Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was your statement, it wasn't Worthy's?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was my statement, but it was never used.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not.

Can you tell us how William Worthy's request for that statement reached you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It reached me by mail.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same day you made an entry "Reached my man [name deleted] visit for long talk and member of A. Liberation on PAC."

Can you tell us what all that meant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Those are Africans, Pan-African Congress.

Mr. SOURWINE. [Name deleted] is South African?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

But also I wouldn't like to go into the names of those people, because that means death to them in South Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that so?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Counsel will ask the reporter to place a note at the beginning of this question, that the committee should consider

deleting the mention of the man, because of the witness' statement that he is a sought-after man and that disclosure of his name in this connection would cause him to be in personal danger. (Subsequently the name was ordered deleted from the printed record.)

Mr. CRAIG. Thank you, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us what is meant by A. Liberation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A. Liberation?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is just A. Liberation?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That means African Liberation.

Mr. SOURWINE. That African Liberation is the African Liberation committee of the Pan-Asian Congress, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. They all deal with African liberation, and they all have different organizations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had this man come to Tanzania to see you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was already there, and he came by.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of September 15, 1968 contains this item: "Writes to Pogo: Monroe Sharp's house. Small gathering there. Sharp family, students, Gabriel, McKinley, Africans and Howard. Returns about 9 p.m. and visits Bill Sutherland. Discuss my situation here."

Was all this a personal matter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, personal in Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. You arrived in Canton, China, from Tanzania after your voyage on October 6, 1968. According to your diary you had dinner that evening with the vice commander and leader of C.R. Can you tell us what the C.R. means?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that means the Revolutionary Committee of the groups.

Mr. SOURWINE. This vice commander, then, was a local official?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The diary entry for the next day, which is October 7, 1968, referred to your approaching departure from Canton for Peking, and contained items: "P/C PPLA leaders see us off." Can you translate that for us? Does P/C mean Peace Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And P/C PPLA would mean what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The People's Liberation Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry. I should have realized that.

Your diary entry of December 16, 1968 had this item: "Letter from Kunstler promising to look into my case and to give report." Who was Kunstler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was a lawyer who wrote to me who handled the Monroe case.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions about him if he was your lawyer. You say he was your lawyer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he was one of the people who were indicted along with me in Monroe. And he was their lawyer. So I was asking him to look into the indictment against me in North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he become your lawyer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he do any legal work for you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. He had offered to help me, but I came in to Detroit instead of New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your entry of December 20, 1968: "North Vietnamese Embassy asks for 'Listen, Brothers.'"

Mr. WILLIAMS. They asked me for copies of the pamphlet that I had written. That was the title, "Listen, Brothers."

Mr. SOURWINE. On October 21 you had a note "Bobby takes 'Listen, Brothers' to North Vietnamese embassy." I presume that means the pamphlet had been finished?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it was already published.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the one they asked for?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It was published in the States.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they had nothing to do with the publication or the preparation of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, they just learned that I had it, somebody had mentioned it to them, and they wanted to see it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have a diary entry January 9, 1969, this item: "A. Strong sends tape to make and for re-test music. Vietnamese send tape for music." I presume A. Strong is Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I suppose so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you recall what this was about? Were you dealing with the Vietnamese through Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But we lived in the same compound.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And I had some tape that actually had been sent to me that I had played for Americans that dealt with the freedom struggle in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. There are two questions here. It does not appear to be the same tape. It says first, "Strong sends tape to make and for re-test music," and it says "Vietnamese send tape for music."

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, she wanted a copy herself. This was American music about the freedom struggle. And she said if I would give her a copy of it, she would give me the tape for her copy.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. And the Vietnamese sent the tape over to you. I suppose she arranged for that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had an entry January 15: "Letter from John. He has been to Monroe and in to Halsberg." The Monroe refers to Monroe, North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is Halsberg? Is that a town in North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. It may be an individual.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us start another way. "Letter from John." Do you know who the John was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was my brother, I suppose.

Mr. SOURWINE. No, he had been to Monroe. This is a little over a year ago, his is January 1968, and in to Halsberg. Is there a Halsberg in North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know of any.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you don't know what it means we will not hold it against you.

Diary entry January 16, 1969: "Sample Radio Free Dixie broadcast and get magazine to get to leave for NFL man to pick up." Can you tell us what that means?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Radio Free Dixie broadcasts through a tape that I have from a broadcaster.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. One of the broadcasts that you had made?

Mr. WILLIAMS. An old broadcast, in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just picked one as a sample?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you were going to get a magazine to leave for the NFL man to pick up. Who was the NFL man?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the NFL man was a Vietnamese who had asked for a copy of the tape, any tape that I had.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Do you know why he wanted the Radio Free Dixie sample?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Actually they had just found out about the fact that I had broadcast, and everybody was interested to see what the broadcast was.

Mr. SOURWINE. That NFL, is that the same thing as the National Liberation Front?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, is it the Vietcong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not North Vietnamese, Vietcong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. We had a report that the Vietcong had used the tape of, I suppose, tape purported to have been cut by you to play for propaganda purposes. You had no knowledge of anything of that sort, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. What they have got it confused with, they are confusing that with my radio broadcast. When I went to Hanoi I was interviewed by the Vietnamese press. And that was played a number of times, I understand. I never heard it. But even after I left there I heard—other people said that they had heard it, and they were playing these interviews, interview of the press.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. And I do not mean to cut you off if you want to say more.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was just a matter of some people having confused that with the radio broadcast from Cuba. The fact is that in Vietnam there were no broadcasts, there were only two interviews that I gave to the press at a press conference. And this interview was taped. And I guess they played the whole interview, and maybe at other times they probably cut it and played portions of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The report we had, sir, was that a tape which you had cut somewhere—and we do not have the tape, so I cannot tell you—it could have been an old Radio Free Dixie tape, for all I know.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It may have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. It had been used by the Vietcong in the indoctrination of prisoners, they would play it to them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And my question simply was to determine whether this was done with your knowledge or consent?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know anything about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Your diary entry February 18, 1969 contains this item: "Coe and Adler scheduled to move: all foreign technicians to move." I take it that referred to V. Frank Coe and Sol Adler, Solomon Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would rather not answer that. I would prefer to take the Fifth on that on the ground of incrimination.

And I would like to speak off the record for a minute.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. On the record.

The diary entry of March 18, 1969 contains this item: "Mail letter from Bradley Polk PLP." Who is Bradley Polk?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is somebody I did not know, but they wrote a letter about Progressive Labor.

Mr. SOURWINE. From the U.S.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you had no contact with him except the letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Except the letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no connection with the Progressive Labor Party, have you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Diary entry for April 27: "Old friend Salin from Cuba is new ambassador from Tanzania." What does this mean. Who is Salin?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I will tell you off the record, but I would rather for it not to be in the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. On the record.

Do you want to answer the question?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is the ambassador from Tanzania to China.

Mr. SOURWINE. On May 1, 1969 you had a diary entry: "Chairman Mao and Lin Piao autograph my book of quotations." That referred to the quotations "The Sayings of Mao Tse-tung?"

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And actually there was a photograph taken of you with Mao Tse-tung at that time, wasn't there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But Lin Piao was present at the same time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. May 5, 1969 diary entry: "Discussed departure schedule this a.m. We settle on the 16th or 23rd, mostly waiting for film they are putting together for me." Did that refer to the film "Robert Williams in China"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, this was a film called "The Ninth Party Congress," and it had to do with fighting between the Chinese and Russians on their border.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the "they" that were putting that film together for you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the documentary people—what they had, they were dubbing in the English, because it had been made in Chinese.

Mr. SOURWINE. These were the Chinese film people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And they were dubbing the English into it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry May 29, 1969, item: "Sees Prof. from Berkeley again. He has been motivated by my talk." Who was the professor from Berkeley who was motivated by your talk?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because I don't know what context it was in.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there a professor from Berkeley in the American compound there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't know of any.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not in contact with any professor from Berkeley in Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. There were many people from Berkeley that I corresponded with. It might have been one of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall any professor from Berkeley that you talked to? It says he was motivated by your talk.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was in Africa?

Mr. SOURWINE. This was May 29. I think you were in Tanzania at the time.

Mr. WILLIAMS. When I was there, there was a group of people who had come there, teachers, professors. They had two groups. And I think there were many of them. I think in all about a hundred or so. I did not know them, but I talked to many of them on black studies.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just don't remember who it was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. On July 4: "See Danny Finley; says that Al left without leaving gun that I requested."

What is this all about? Who is Dan Finley and who is Al? And what about the gun?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, Finley was a fellow who was living there, I think he may have been from Jamaica. And there was a fellow there who was supposed to leave a gun with me. A fellow had two guns and was leaving, and I wanted a rifle, a hunting rifle, and he told me he was going to leave it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the Al?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was a Tanzanian?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I think he was from Algeria or some place.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not get the gun?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry July 25, 1969 indicates you went to the Kilimanjaro Hotel to meet MIT professor." Do you remember who that was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know that he was the head of political affairs at MIT.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it about, again a personal matter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He wanted to interview me about China and Africa, because he was the head of the department at MIT.

Mr. SOURWINE. Diary entry August 9, 1969 item: "Bal and I attended two parties for Afro-Americans tonight. One by a graduate student working for N.D.C., and one for A.I.D. man. Meet Afros from Winston and a teacher from West Virginia State." Does A.I.D. mean the—

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the U.S. agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. The U.S. agency. And what was N.D.C.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was the National Development Corporation, Tanzania Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall the name of the teacher from West Virginia State?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Diary entry August 10, 1969: "Go to Palm Beach to meet Phil Reid." Who is Phil Reid?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Phil Reid was an American professor who was on a tour of Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where he teaches?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Diary entry of August 21, 1969, item: "Roosevelt Brown from Black Power Bermuda Conference. Convinced that many brothers are funded by U.S.S.R. and Cuba. Very suspicious." Who was convinced, you or Roosevelt Brown?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would rather answer that off the record too, because that would take in a lot of other details in the movement.

Mr. CRAIG. Let us go off the record, and we will see what we can put on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any prior contact with Roosevelt Brown?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, never.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the present connections are?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think he was a representative of Parliament.

Mr. CRAIG. What country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Bermuda—I think, I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you familiar with a publication known as The Crusader?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you its publisher?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I publish it. It is not being published now. But also there were a number of occasions when I know that some copies had been forged, in fact I have protested this. I do not know how many editions have been forged.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say issues of your paper were forged?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who forged them, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because on one occasion there was a Crusader sent in to China attacking the Chinese. And on another occasion there was an edition that attacked the Cubans. And I received copies of it from other sources. And it had been published in French, Spanish, and English.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't have a copy of any of those forged editions of the Crusader, do you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I have got copies in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you supply the committee with copies of the forged editions? We will return them. We would like to get photocopies.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If we get them back.

Mr. SOURWINE. And we might be of help in determining where they were forged. We will make an effort to determine that. We will get the best assistance we can.

Mr. CRAIG. I will make a note to that effect.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I ask that the copies of the forged issues of the Crusader, when received, be put in the record by reference, subject to having portions quoted in the record if the committee sees fit, provided that the source can be ascertained.

(The material referred to had not been received when this hearing went to press.)

Is that satisfactory?

Mr. CRAIG. Fine. No objection.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long did you publish the Crusader, over a period of about how long?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think about 10 or 11 years. I started in North Carolina when I was there, I think, in 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not want to go into too much about what you wrote, and yet I cannot ignore it altogether for this record. There are some things which you may very well want to comment on or give an explanation about. But for these special questions it will be satisfactory to counsel, if it is the fact that you do not wish to answer the question, and that you have no comment to make, if you simply say so. Unless the committee insists on you answering, in such a case, counsel won't. And that still preserves to you the right to claim the Fifth Amendment, if you should want to do so.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write, in an article published in The Crusader of February 1964, that the new concept of revolution "is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But that was written in the context of a whole composition. That was just an excerpt. That was giving a description of what was developed and what could happen.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that same article you commented: "The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because actually that was a debate, because some of the so-called Progressive Forces of the Communists were talking about that people should have bases in the hills. But actually this was saying that I did not agree that that type of warfare would be successful.

Mr. SOURWINE. The article went on and stated: "The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then a little later it said: "During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping"—speaking of the new concept of revolution. "Night brings all-out warfare, organized and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you feel in justice to you that the whole text of that article should be printed in this record?

Mr. WILLIAMS. If any, I think the whole text should be, because it had a dual purpose. It was also meant to explain to the people—at that time there were some that were saying they were going to the hills in the United States, and this was the way that resistance should be carried out.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were writing as an expert, were you not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was writing to let them know that I was not convinced that that was the method, no matter who had said otherwise.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

I will ask the Chairman to rule that the full text of the article in question be printed in the record, either in the body of the record, or if it is deemed too long for that, in an appendix with a reference at this point in the record to where it can be found.*

Is that satisfactory?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

You wrote an article in The Crusader newsletter of September-October 1967 in which you stated that "American production, communications, and the normal functioning of the affluent society are exposed to the Afro-American's natural revolutionary reaction to tyranny and oppression." What did you mean by that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I meant that under the situation, unless there were changes in America, and if America continued to practice oppression, and if the confrontation developed that I saw developing, and still see, that if it did develop that America would be more exposed than most people realize to destruction, and that I also felt that many whites had taken refuge in the fact that there are more whites than blacks, and they have always told us that our cause was actually hopeless. So this was also meant to let whites understand, or try to bring some of them to understand, that it was to our best advantage to have this type of confrontation, but the fact that here is what we can expect if it continues to develop to this point.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would it be an unfair transliteration to say that in substance what you were saying here is that if the black people of the United States rise up in revolution there is going to be hell to pay?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you were not telling anybody to rise up?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. That is one reason why I would want the whole text printed. Because in there I also explained how—the only way it can be avoided is through justice and through the enforcement of the Constitution.

*The article from the Crusader of February 1964 will be found in the appendix at p. 294.

Mr. SOURWINE. That article went on to say: "Any Afro-American revolt would consequently constitute a unique form of urban guerilla warfare," and "that the match and gasoline would be his most effective weapon." I ask you if this is correct, that the "his" does not refer to any particular person, you are referring there to a representative black man in a revolutionary situation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because there was always an argument that the black people do not have weapons, and there is nothing they can do. And this was also a repudiation of that, and also the fact that it was not a matter of blacks coming from the countryside or coming from the hills, but they are already in the city, so it would be a unique type of fighting.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask the Chairman to order that the full text of that article from The Crusader newsletter of September-October 1967 from which I have quoted be printed in the record.*

Have you written and circulated instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, with the exception of in the publication that explained how they were made, and how they could be made, and the fact that they were so simple.

Mr. SOURWINE. You printed it, then, but you did not write it yourself?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wrote it, because I was taught that in the U.S. Army.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote it and printed it in The Crusader, you mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I suppose so, because I do not know in exactly what context that is in.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you circulate those instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail any other way than in The Crusader?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wouldn't call it instructions, but the idea was that I wanted to explain, specially to those people who always said that we didn't have weapons, and we didn't have any chance in the U.S., to explain to them that weapons are simple, and that they could be constructed simply. So that was not the question. The question was to solve the problem, to do justice, and to avoid conflict, and not take refuge in the fact that black people did not have weapons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you written and circulated instructions on how to make a Black Powder bomb?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that Black Powder bomb is the same as a Molotov cocktail.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't mean it is the same, you mean it is just as simple?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, it is simple.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't really mean that it is the same?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not the same, but it is just as simple.

Mr. SOURWINE. That answer is, then, that you did write such instructions in the same vein, I take it, that you say you wrote about the Molotov cocktail? And one place where you did that was the Crusader Newsletter of September-October 1967?

*The article from the Crusader, September-October 1967, will be found in the appendix on p. 302.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not taking the time to read the whole thing, because the nub of it is all we need to get out of the question.

You have described that the Black Powder bomb is to be used "against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are three or four stories high."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. A Black Powder bomb could be a weapon of great destruction under such conditions, couldn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the summer 1969 edition of The Crusader you wrote: "The ruling hypocrites of the U.S.S.R. have been ardently vocal in singing the peace parody tune that 'war is unthinkable.' They sang love songs to savage America and made vows never to betray her imperialist cause. In regard to their socialist neighbor, People's China, they changed their tune of 'war is unthinkable' to a land-grabber ballad of armor. These double-talking hypocrites even dare suggest that nuclear war is all right as long as it is unleashed against a socialist country. Again, they are singing off-key. The defensive bullets of socialist China kill just as deadly as those of imperialist America."

Is that a real Crusader, or is that the phony Crusader?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, that is a real Crusader.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that same article you wrote: "China prepares for possible war and convenes her ninth Party Congress in the utmost confidence." That appears at least to be a pretty strongly anti-U.S.S.R. statement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I gather it was intended to be.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you also write in that article, "Aggression against one quarter of the world population is the iniquity of mad men indulging in the folly of fools."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can use the English language sir. Would you like to have the whole text of that article included in the record?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask that that may be done.

I think it might be well if we offered for the hearing record, not to be printed, but to be included in the record by reference, the committee's entire file of Radio Free Dixie broadcasts and of The Crusader. I have these somewhere.

Would you like to have that done?

Mr. CRAIG. We have no objection to that, Mr. Sourwine, we concur in that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are satisfied that we are having them put in by reference that way without having them all printed?

Mr. CRAIG. Sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask the Chairman if that may be the order. I ask that, in view of the desire of the witness, this entire file marked Counsel's Exhibit 54 be retained in the files of the subcommittee with a cross reference to this testimony.

(The material referred to was identified as "Exhibit 54" and retained in the subcommittee files.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, there was a letter received from a Mr. Keith C. Kern. I will show you a photocopy of it. Can you tell me whether The Crusader was sent as a result of that letter, and whether there was any further contact with Kern?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I sent copies to them. I do not know what they did with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this letter may go in the record.

It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 24.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 24" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 24

THE LONG MARCH,
Baltimore, Md.

CRUSADER,
c/o MRS. ANNE OLSON,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

DEAR MRS. OLSON: For some time we have been exchanging the Long March for the Crusader. We have now formed a Committee for Peace and Freedom in Baltimore, the purpose of which is to link the struggle for freedom here in the U.S. to the struggle internationally, especially in Vietnam.

We would like to distribute the Crusader here in Baltimore in large numbers, and would like to arrange for a bundle to be shipped to Baltimore. With CORE having there national project here, starting this summer, there is a considerable amount of activity here in the ghettos. At the recent CORE conference we gave about 800 leaflets away. Could you arrange for us to get 100 copies of each number. Please tell us how much we should send you; although we have no funds to speak of, we would like to make some kind of contribution, and of course pay the postage.

Fraternally,

KEITH C. KERN,
Coeditor, The Long March.

P.S.—The address of the Committee for Peace and Freedom is: 242 S. Broadway, Balto., Md. Or they can be sent to the Long March (address in heading).

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, after you went back to China in September of 1968 did the China Peace Committee subsidize The Crusader?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because the Foreign Languages Press printed The Crusader. You might be able to call it subsidize, because they printed it free.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't care about the use of words. They gave you printing services?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they give you envelopes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mailing service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did it require stamps?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was sent through a meter in the post office.

Mr. SOURWINE. They put it through an official meter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In effect they provided postage too, didn't they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you did not have any publication costs?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was the number of copies increased, or did it remain about the same?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it increased from time to time. One time I was having trouble with the U.S. postal authorities, and they didn't want me to send bundles into the country, so it was decreased.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that a substantial decrease?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I decreased it to about 19,000, 15,000 or 18,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. From what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From 30,000; sometimes I did as many as 40,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did it stay at that new low level, or did it go back up again?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it stayed, because I was planning to come home.

Mr. SOURWINE. You stopped publication when you came home?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long was it down to 18,000 before you stopped publication, just the one issue?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just the one issue, the last one.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you Counsel's Exhibit 57, which is your pamphlet "Listen, Brothers." I take it you are familiar with it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That appears to have been printed in China, is that correct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it was printed in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I sent the manuscript to New York and they printed it in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. The inside title page said "World View Publishers."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That is in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is in New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the distributor?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many copies of that were distributed in the United States, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because I sent the manuscript to them in New York, and they published it. This is the same pamphlet that they were asking me for. They were asking for it because they had not seen it, it was published over here.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. I think the first day you testified we had a little discussion about the preparation of the material for this, didn't we?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you get a royalty on this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I have not gotten one yet.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you sell it outright?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are still entitled to a royalty on it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I am, if they make any money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you own the copyright?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I just sent them the manuscript.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who owns the copyright, World View Publishers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is World View Publishers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is just a name. You must have dealt with people.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, the idea is, I was over there, and a lot of these people I never saw, I don't know. A lot of those letters, like those people who were distributing them, they would just write to me. And a lot of people always wrote, and sent money and envelopes, and some still do. But I do not know them really.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you sent this pamphlet to the World View Publishers without knowing who the people involved in it were?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I assumed that they were leftist, and I thought at the time they were representatives of the Peace Movement.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you pardon me, sir, what was the basis for your assumption?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, because of the fact that they had put out a magazine, and they were sending me pamphlets. And the pamphlet had to do with the Peace Movement, and I think some type of soldiers' union, and something of soldiers—and they had about the Fort Hood.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the magazine they published?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They published a magazine called—I can't remember. One was for the soldiers, they put out a newspaper, and always a newspaper called Workers' World. And there was a Peace magazine—a magazine called The Partisan. And then there was a newspaper called—it was supposed to be for the soldiers and by the soldiers, or something.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never got any report from these people as to how many they sold?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they never sent you any money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask for it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not ask them for any money, because actually what had happened in the beginning, I thought maybe I would have to pay for it to be printed. And they offered to do it free.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they order this book, or did they find you had written it and ask for a chance to print it, or what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. At the time, after I wrote it, I was trying to decide—in fact I had planned to print it myself as my own publication, and I was trying to find a place in the United States where it could be printed. And then when I sent them the manuscript they offered to do it free.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to send them the manuscript? How did you know anything about them? Did somebody tell you about them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had been receiving their literature.

Mr. SOURWINE. Because you had been receiving their literature?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you picked them, really?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you sent them the manuscript, what did you do, offer to pay them, or offer it to them for sale, or ask them if they would print it for free, or what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I asked them to look at it. I didn't offer to pay them at first, but I thought I was going to have to. And they wrote back and said they thought it would make a good pamphlet, and they wanted to do it right away.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they send you a contract or offer to pay you right away?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they ask permission to print it free without any obligation to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. They just told you that they were going to print it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I have that problem since I have been in exile, that anybody who wanted to print anything or reprint it, they felt free to do it, because they felt I would not be able to come home anyway.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is easy to take advantage of a man at 6,000 miles away.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I guess that is right, I guess it is.

Where did you write this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When I was in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. The first time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, the first time, before I left.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, turning to a new point, Mr. Williams, are you connected in any way with the Black Panthers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I have spoken for some of their benefits since I have been back, not exactly their benefits, but a group called The Coalition. And I suppose that they are either related or similar to the Black Panthers. But I do not have any connection with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Coalition you are talking about, was that meeting that the Panthers held last fall out in California?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, this was only for the celebration of Huey Newton's birthday.

Mr. SOURWINE. This year?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But I don't have any connection with them in any way.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had anything to do with raising bail for any Panthers after they were indicted or arrested?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. For instance, the 21 Panthers indicted in New York City, 13 of whom were released on bail of \$100,000 apiece?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of January 19, 1969 had an item: "Two Panthers short visit." Can you remember back and tell us who the two Panthers were?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Where was that?

Mr. SOURWINE. This was January 19, 1969. Where were you then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In January 1969 I think I was in China. But I do not remember any Panthers visiting me in China. That was probably a code for somebody else.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or what the visit was about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. March 24, item: "Letter from Gibson. Says Panthers is front of white leftists." Can you explain that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was a letter I received. People were always writing letters and expressing opinions.

Mr. SOURWINE. What Gibson was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was the Gibson in Britain.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same Gibson you had been involved with in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And does Panthers mean the Black Panthers here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, usually abroad when they say Panthers they are talking about all black militants. He might have been talking about the Panthers specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. But this says "Letter from Gibson: says Panthers is front for white leftists."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was saying that some group for which you used the word Panthers was a front for white leftists. Was he talking about the so-called Black Panthers organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He could have been referring to the Panthers in England too, because they have got these black militant groups.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But it is a group of black people, militants.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean his letter—which I take it you don't remember, is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I don't.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are simply saying that it could have concerned the black militant groups in Great Britain?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, or it could have been here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any reason to believe that the Black Panthers organization in the United States is a front for white leftists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I think they cooperate with some of the white leftists. I don't think it is a front.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Robert H. Muller, the associate director of the University of Michigan Library?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He sent you a contents-summary of The Crusader letter in June of 1969. Did you approve that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because he was compiling—he was doing some literary work, or a book on the different radical writings of this age.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask that this letter and the compilation which the witness has stated he approved go in the record at this point. It is Counsel's Exhibit 4.

(The document marked "Exhibit 4" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 4

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
Ann Arbor.

To: The Crusader Newsletter, Robert F. Williams, Peking, China.
From: Robert H. Muller, Associate Director, University of Michigan Library,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Attached is the draft of a content-summary of your periodical, prepared for inclusion in a forthcoming new edition of my directory of minority-view and dissent-type periodicals (left, right, and in-between), designed primarily for use by librarians and people in education.

I should appreciate your looking it over and returning it to me before July 15, if possible. Your comments or corrections will help eliminate any inadvertent errors, inaccuracies, or misinterpretations. Keep in mind, please, that the summary is based on only a few issues of your publication. A limit had to be placed on the amount of time we could devote to any one periodical, considering that we attempted to cover nearly 300.

Your cooperation will be appreciated. If, for some reason, you cannot respond, please so indicate on the bottom of this sheet and return it, so that you will not be bothered with a follow-up notice. I do hope, however, that you will find time to check it since it is my intention to present a fair and unbiased portrayal.

Inclusion in my directory, which sold over 3000 copies in its 1st edition (1967), may be of benefit to you in making the existence of your publication more widely known.

JUNE 23, 1969.

ROBERT H. MULLER.

From Radical Left to Extreme Right, 2nd ed.

Title: The Crusader Newsletter.

Address: Robert F. Williams, 1 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China.

Frequency: Occasional.

Price: Contributions.

Publication Started: June 1958.

Circulation: 30,000.

Format: 10- to 16-page Newsletter (4 1/4" x 8").

Issues Examined: September/October and December 1967; March and May 1967 (v. 9, Nos. 2-5).

The Crusader is published by Robert F. Williams, who considers himself to be in exile from the United States, having fled the country to escape arrest on a trumped-up charge of kidnapping (December 1967 issue).

"The only crime I am guilty of is being in opposition to tyranny. If progressive, honest and sincere dissent is a crime in the warped concept of the bigots of Union County (North Carolina), then I proudly accept the label of criminal, and if it means that I violently oppose the fascist, racist and imperialist American government's barbaric and indiscriminate slaughter of the freedom loving patriots of Vietnam." (Dec. 1967.)

"Since its inception," nine years ago (so, in 1958), as an organ of the Union County, North Carolina, Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *The Crusader* has pursued an uncompromising policy of advocating armed self-defense for brutally oppressed and terrorized black Americans. It has never wavered in its stand against imperialism, fascism, racism and the enemies of freedom, peace and justice. *The Crusader* has always been a staunch advocate of the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution and equality for all Americans . . . and from the very beginning maintained that the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America." (September/October 1967, p. 16).

"*The Crusader* has survived racist attempts at economic strangulation, Ku Klux Klan harassment and a license conspiracy in the racist USA. It has survived exile in Cuba and attacks by international liquidationists. Now it is struggling to survive a fascist ban invoked by U.S. Postal authorities." (December 1967.)

The March 1968 issue comments on American foreign policy: "More and more U.S. cannon fodder is being sent to Vietnam. More and more underprivileged and oppressed Black boys are being press-ganged to fight the racist white man's lost imperialist cause. It is uncivilized and tragic for any human being to be pawned off and expended as cannon fodder in a war fought for a doomed status quo, but the most despicable crime that can be committed against the human race is to force or coerce the slave into defending the tottering system of slavery. Racist and imperialist America has no sane excuse to be in Vietnam. She has no more cause to butcher the innocent and defenseless women and children of Vietnam than Hitler had to exterminate those whom he so deceptively portrayed as a threat to German Survival.

The Johnson administration and the fascist vultures, who prefer to be called hawks, piously claim that racist, imperialist and savage America is defending democracy, freedom, self-determination and American survival in Vietnam. In order to justify their villainous handiwork these flesh-picking scavengers are invoking every old cliché and jingoistic gimmick they can wring from the bag of chauvinistic demagoguery. . . .

Not long ago the world had cause to wonder how a civilized generation of Germans allowed themselves to be piped over the precipitous cliffs of chaos, tragedy and desolation by a jingoistic maniac like Hitler. Now, the civilized world again has cause to be astounded by a generation of sheep transformed and led by a pack of bloodthirsty and howling wolves. . . .

A look at the desperate situation of the Black American, the Indian, the Puerto Rican and Mexican American belies the hypocritical claim of America's unflinching devotion to freedom and democracy."

In the May 1968 issue, Mr. Williams argues for a separate state for Afro-Americans: "As the honorable Elijah Muhammad has been teaching us for more than a generation, it is time for the Black man to go for self. It is time for a homeland that we can call our own."

The March 1968 issue declares that: "If there is ever going to be justice in America, if the Black man is ever to be liberated, if human dignity is ever to prevail; there must be a violent confrontation between Black man and white man, between oppressor and oppressed, between the master class and the slave class."

The September/October 1967 issue explains that passive resistance must be discarded in favor of violent revolution by the oppressed minority in America. Mr. Williams offers advice about methods of waging guerrilla warfare: "The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. . . .

The mission of these thousands of active fire teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. . . . The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect the holocaust and emit a feeling of impending doom.

What types of weapons should be in the arsenals of the Black Revolution? Guerrilla forces should rely heavily on simple and even homemade weapons. . . .

There is a great need for the black revolutionary to become proficient in ambushing and seizing arms and equipment from the enemy oppressor. . . . Special effort should be made to locate and seize Minutemen and rightist fascist groups' arms caches. When U.S. Government surplus military and sporting goods stores are peopled (looted), first aid packets, gas masks and helmets should not be overlooked. When stocked, the heavier type of model airplane equipped for remote control can play a big role in urban guerrilla warfare. These model planes can be used to deliver hand-grenades to targets. . . .

Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. . . . The jumbo size of the gasoline bomb can be made by using an empty syrup bottle of one gallon capacity."

In the same issue, Mr. Williams expresses his opinion of Israel: "Two million Jews unleash aggression against one hundred million Arabs and the whole reactionary world cheers the success of their imperialist inspired aggression." (September/October 1967, p. 13.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a telegram—actually I show you a photocopy of the text of a telegram—purporting to have been ad-

dressed by you to Dr. Martin Luther King on June 24, 1966. Did you send the telegram?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not. What is this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know what it is. Where was it supposed to have originated?

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you. This is a photocopy of an original page which belongs to you. It is among the material that we obtained under subpoena from the Customs people. And it appears to be the text of a telegram sent, or the text of a withdrawn copy of a telegram, because it has at the bottom an address, R.F. Williams, Avenue WRA, Number 4003, Entrance 4040A Miramar, and a telephone number, I take it, 292242. Is that what that was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is where you were living?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is where I was living. And that was the telephone number. But I have never seen that before.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never saw this telegram?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recognize the handwriting at the top where it says "Night Letter" that has been written on there, or the date. Can you tell from that? Is that the handwriting of anybody you ever saw?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. In fact, that would have been just a month before I left Cuba. And I was not sending out any telegrams then. In fact, I ceased all activity.

Mr. SOURWINE. What would the phrase "May Day Martin" mean, do you have any idea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is used in here, but you say you did not use it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is nothing you prepared, and you do not know how it got into your possession?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any objection if we put this in the record?

Mr. CRAIG. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. As something that you did not send, as not yours and not prepared by you.

I will ask you, since that does not belong to you, but it was among your belongings, do you want it, or may the committee keep it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You may keep it. It is all right with me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Because it may just be that even if that very small sample of penmanship we can find out—and if it was something planted in your luggage, if we find out who did it we will tell you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you know whether that was sent or not?

Mr. CRAIG. I submitted to my client that that may have been prepared for him and he never accepted it or never sent it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any memory of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't have any memory of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know who could have prepared it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a very logical explanation. It could have been prepared by somebody who wanted Mr. Williams to send it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is possible, because a number of times people have written things and asked me if I would sign them. And a lot of times I would tell them that I didn't want to write anything, or didn't feel like it, or didn't have time. And they would say, well, they would write the draft and they wouldn't do anything with it until I approved of what had been written.

Mr. SOURWINE. Under those circumstances maybe we had better return the original to you along with the rest of your stuff?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you, sir.

Did Max Stanford come to visit you in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. A group of students came from the United States. But I think he may have been among the students who came there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember meeting him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about the meeting?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I just met him along with other students. I met about all the students who came to Cuba from the United States. And we all discussed the problems in the United States, the race problem, the problems in Cuba, and whether or not Cuba was an ideal example for America.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with arranging his visit to Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever arrange for anybody's visit to Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The Cuban Government would not allow me to arrange for anybody. In fact, the Cuban Government started to invite and let black people come in there after I left. But while I was there they did not allow blacks to come to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show you this, which is also a page from among your belongings. It has Max Stanford's name in the upper left-hand corner, and his address.

I will offer this page for the record, as Counsel's Exhibit 59.

(The page marked "Exhibit 59" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 59

MAX STANFORD,
Philadelphia, Pa.

An active worker in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other movements throughout the country. He should be brought to Cuba for a conference immediately. Max travels throughout the United States and works with Youth groups. He has first hand knowledge of the freedom struggle and is presently active in unifying the many factions.

Arrangements for his travel here should be made immediately. Arrangements should be made for him to travel clandestinely through Europe. It should be arranged that this transportation can be secured through the Cuban Consulate in Montreal, Canada. When all the arrangements are made and his tickets are available in Canada, I can notify him to contact the Consulate for his instructions.

Mr. SOURWINE. It describes him as an active worker in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It says he should be brought to Cuba for a conversation immediately, arrangements for his travel should be made. And this can be done through the Cuban Consulate in Montreal, and so forth. I will ask you to look at this and see if it refreshes your memory. Obviously somebody gave it to you. Do you know from where it came to you, and who was it that was trying to get you to intervene? Or is it perhaps something that you prepared to send to somebody else to get them to intervene on behalf of Max?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It could have been either way. The fact was that I had requested the Cuban Government that black people be allowed to come there. But the Cubans would not allow any blacks there while I was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a request that you made to the Cuban Government, to try to help get Max Stanford down there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It may have been, I am not sure.

Mr. CRAIG. Was he black?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, he was black.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he come with students?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He came with the students who came. But the Cubans did not allow anybody to come to Cuba that I had requested.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to find out if you did make this request on behalf of Max Stanford?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know. But it has got the address up on the top of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. It has got his address. But that would be there just for the purpose of identification, I take it. It obviously is not addressed to him. It is about him.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I thought that might have been there, because somebody was giving their address to me. That may have been sent to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could have been somebody giving the address to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Because I get a lot of requests from people all over the country asking me to help them to get to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this man Max Stanford somebody you hardly knew, or somebody you knew quite well?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not know him, because before I left the United States I never heard of Max Stanford. And I only knew all of these people through people who wrote letters to me. When I was in the United States I had never seen Max Stanford.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know who he is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I knew who he was later. He was supposed to have been one of the officials of RAM before it was deactivated.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was the RAM leader in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But also RAM was formed after I was out of the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. But I am just talking about the man Stanford. I do not mean to quarrel with you. I am just trying to get the record to speak clearly. I will tell you, frankly, the committee had information that you and Stanford were pretty close.

Mr. WILLIAMS. A lot of people thought that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. But I want the record to speak the fact, and if I do not ask any questions to get you to state it the record is incomplete.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, you see, what was wrong, the thing that gave the erroneous concept was the fact that all of the black nationalists, or at least most of them in the country, have been sympathetic toward me, and have read my publications, they have written letters, and even while I was away, without even knowing me, they would set me up as the symbolic leader of all of their groups, and would always say that they were following the teachings of Robert Williams. And they gave the impression that I was known by a lot of people who knew each other. But a lot of these people if they saw me now would not know me, but they say they followed the teachings of Robert Williams, and he is the leader of the black people in America.

Mr. SOURWINE. I wish you could recall whether you made a request in behalf of Max or whether you did not. But if you cannot recall it you cannot recall it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. And on top of that, the Cubans would not—when I asked that black people should be allowed to come to Cuba, they would not allow black people to come there while I was there, because they were opposed to black nationalism, they only wanted people to come who supported their position.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say you asked for black people to come, you mean in the mass, you did not ask for particular individuals to come, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I asked them to allow black nationalists to come and people who were sympathetic toward me, and people in the United States who were supporting me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were defining them that way rather than by name.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, rather than by name, because I did not know most of them personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that you did not request the Cuban Government to bring any individuals into the country either, Max or anybody else?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not by name.

Mr. SOURWINE. That clears it up.

Now, we have here the text of a speech by V. Frank Coe, August 12, 1963. This is another item which we secured under our subpoena to the Customs. It is three-and-a-half pages single-space. And I ask that it go in the record as Counsel's Exhibit 47.

(The speech marked "Exhibit 47" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 47

Text of Speech by Frank Coe (Aug. 12, 1963)

Comrades, friends!

All the American people will be happy over this great meeting of 10,000 people in Peking to support the struggle of the American Negroes.

All our people will likewise be grateful for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's historic statement on this struggle. This is the first time a world leader, and a very great one, has called upon the people of all countries to unite against the racial discrimination practiced by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against it. So far as I know, it is also

the first time that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has personally issued such a statement. Rest assured, this inspiring statement will reach its target.

The struggle of the heroic American Negroes has been a very long and bloody one. For two and a half centuries they were chattel slaves on southern plantations, barbarously treated. Their struggle for freedom took every form and was marked by countless insurrections. Their emancipation occurred during the revolutionary Civil War, exactly 100 years ago. The legal abolition of slavery was buttressed by every law the people of that time could think of. Despite all these laws, the reactionary capitalists of the North soon restored control of the South to the plantation owners, and the Negroes were again forcibly reduced to servitude—this time as sharecroppers, tenants, day labourers or the like.

Since then, there has been another century of struggle, in many forms. There have also been great upheavals in the life of the Negro. Millions have migrated to the big cities of the North and West, especially in the last 20 years. In the same period Southern agriculture has been transformed, and millions expelled from the land, so that now only 1 out of 9 Negroes is in agriculture. But none of these changes has significantly reduced the discrimination against the Negro. In the North segregation is supposed to be illegal, but in fact is universal. There, too, the Negro holds the worst-paid jobs if he has one at all, lives in the worst houses at the highest rents, sends his children to the worst schools, etc. Unemployment is chronic; once a reserve labour force for agriculture, the Negroes have now become the most important part of the industrial reserve army.

In view of the long oppression of the Negroes and their long history of resistance, it was to be expected that after World War II they would intensify the struggle. But the actual force of the present struggle has far exceeded anything expected. In its scope and its depth, the present struggle of the American Negroes is greater than at any time in the past 100 years.

It is no accident that this upsurge of the American Negroes has coincided with the tremendous national liberation revolutions which have been sweeping across Asia, Africa and Latin America. The American Negroes were naturally stirred when 650 million Chinese people won their freedom. And they have been still more deeply stirred by the successive victories of the African people in their national liberation struggles.

The postwar movement of the U.S. Negroes against racial discrimination began in the courts, but it has moved to the streets. In 1954, a lengthy court fight for desegregated schooling was ostensibly won. But the actual desegregation of the Southern schools was very slight, and painfully slow. In some cases the enrollment of one or a few Negroes in previously white schools led almost to civil war, for instance, in 1956 in Alabama, in 1957 in Arkansas, last year in Mississippi. In hundreds of communities the Negroes found that enrollment in white schools was still impossible without prolonged litigation in the courts.

The Negro masses were not long in perceiving the true state of affairs, they called the integration which took place in isolated schools "token integration," and they demanded more than "tokenism." The masses decided on real action. Hence the sit-ins, freedom rides, bus boycotts, strikes, parades and other demonstrations. The vigor of the Negro masses has created scores and hundreds of new organizations and forced the older ones to join the mass movement, which has spread to every part of the country.

Time after time, the unarmed Negro demonstrators in the U.S. have had to brave armed police, troops and mobs. They have had to cope with constant provocations. Even children have had to confront police dogs, tear gas and armored cars. To be jailed is a matter of course. At one point, the jails of Birmingham were filled with young girls, whose crime had been to march and sing.

For the Negro demonstrator, beatings, arson and even murder must also be taken for granted. Whites who participate run the same risks. Negro children who enter white schools endanger not only themselves but also the jobs and even the lives of their parents.

Despite all this, the Negro demonstrations have moved from peak to peak.

This growing mass movement has now begun to frighten the rulers of the United States. Why? The Negroes do not advocate the overthrow of capitalism but ask for equal rights. Why then should the U.S. monopolists be afraid? All the Negro children do is sing such songs as "I wanta be free . . ."; why

should this worry the Kennedy Administration, the self-styled leader of the free world? The Negroes are not advocating violence. Why should the U.S. rulers be afraid of peaceable people?

The answer is clear. Such a mass movement does threaten the established order of oppression in the United States; it does threaten U.S. monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, and from within. These peaceable masses may get out of control. This is a conflict between rulers and ruled. Although the American Negroes do not talk about monopoly capitalism, they do speak of the "white power structure," meaning the leading U.S. capitalists, their politicians, their lawyers, etc.

The current objective of big capital in the U.S. is to control, curb and break up this mass movement. This is Kennedy's No. 1 domestic task. As he and his brother the Attorney General have frankly admitted, they want to get the Negroes off the streets and back into the courts. Kennedy's new legislation on "civil rights" is designed to induce the Negro leaders and masses to pin all their hopes on the new law, to lull and divert the mass movement and meanwhile to divide and disintegrate it from within.

For a century now the U.S. Negroes have had more than enough laws supposedly guaranteeing their freedom and rights.

The new law is not needed, it is a hoax. If the Negroes fall for this cheap way of winning their votes, they will find themselves "back in the courts," as Kennedy wants.

As the American Negroes know from bitter experience, it is the U.S. Government which sanctions, stands behind and tolerates or enforces all the oppression and all the discrimination to which they are subjected. And who is the head of the U.S. government? President John F. Kennedy. He is the executive agent of the biggest U.S. capitalists. He is the executive in charge of all the force which is used against the Negroes, the highest agent of their persecution.

Therefore, Kennedy personifies and represents the two tactics which U.S. monopoly capital is using to keep the American Negroes in their position of especial servitude. On the one hand, he uses armed force against them. On the other; he promises to negotiate with them a life that will eventually be free of racial discrimination.

There is an exact parallel between these two tactics which Kennedy is using to repress the Negroes and the two tactics which he has openly declared in U.S. foreign policy—on the one hand, increased armed strength for U.S. imperialism; on the other, a constant pretence of love for peace and disarmament. Thus the test-ban treaty recently negotiated with the Soviet Union is represented at one and the same time as a) an important step towards disarmament and peace and b) a measure to insure the continued nuclear superiority of the United States.

The modern revisionists in the United States are not only lagging behind the masses, Negro and white, in this great struggle, they are also tailing Kennedy. Believe it or not, they paint him as a true friend and brave champion of the Negroes. They hail Kennedy's new law as a revolutionary event which will ensure the freedom the Negroes have so long fought for. To these revisionists Kennedy is pro-Negro, but certain militant mass organizations are "too extreme" and therefore "reactionary" and anti-Negro. The American masses ignore this rubbish.

The Negroes have forged a remarkable degree of unity among their own people, a unity in which the masses are ahead of their leaders. Also, many white people have joined in the struggle and the overwhelming majority sympathize with it. But the united front of the American people needs to be immensely broadened. The white people of the United States must take to heart what Marx said a century ago "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." What Marx said of chattel slavery is no less true of wage-slavery.

The discrimination against the U.S. Negro people, the exploitation of nearly all the U.S. people, and the aggression and oppression U.S. imperialism practices all over the world are three aspects of one and the same thing—class exploitation and oppression by U.S. monopoly capital. They are not something accidental, they are the very core of U.S. monopoly capitalism. We cannot get rid of these deadly evils without destroying U.S. monopoly capitalism itself. And it must be destroyed at home as well as abroad.

The movement of the U.S. Negroes against racial discrimination cannot help being a part of the world-wide united front against U.S. imperialism

which is taking shape in many countries and on all continents. The present vigor and power of this movement in the United States is yet another proof that this international united front is inevitable. This united front is bound to achieve victory.

Long live the heroic American Negro people!

Long live the great friendship between the Chinese people, the Negro people and all the people of the United States!

All the people of the world! Unite to support the American Negro people in their struggle against racial discrimination!

All the people of the world! Unite to overthrow the common enemy, U.S. imperialism!

Mr. SOURWINE. And I will show it to you, sir, and ask you first, have you seen a copy of this speech, and second, did you hear the speech, and third, did you know about it, assuming that the answer to the first two is no.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I saw this in the Peking Review. I then got this published officially, I think it was, in China in the Peking Review.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you happen to have what appears to be a carbon copy of the reading copy of the speech?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because a lot of that stuff that I have, I have not even been through it. Because people give me things, and a lot of times they just bring it, and they want me to read it, and they want to make sure that I have seen everything.

Mr. SOURWINE. The reasonable assumption would be that you got this from Mr. Coe.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not get it from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. We would think if he wrote the speech he would have the carbon copy. If somebody else wrote the speech for him they might have the carbon copy. I don't know where you got it, do you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know where it came from.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not have it delivered, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not think so. I do not think I was there in 1963.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't know whether they will assist in refreshing your memory, but I want to show you a letter to you from Anna Louise Strong, and an attached copy of a speech prepared for delivery by Anna Louise Strong. Does that explain how you get the copy of the Coe speech?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose that is the same speech that she is talking about. But a lot of the stuff I—I have got letters now that have never been opened.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this letter from Miss Strong and the text of her speech go in the record as Counsel's Exhibit 51.

(The letter and speech marked "Exhibit 51" follows.)

EXHIBIT No. 51

ANNA LOUISE STRONG,

Peking, China, October 4, 1963.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I enclose the speeches made by Frank Coe and myself at the big Rally last August 12th. As you will recall, after Mao replied to your request for a statement and issued his call to the world's people, a big Rally was held in the Great Hall of the People to support the American Negroes cause. . . . (It was also held in many Chinese cities.) At the original rally some 7 or 8 speeches were made. Frank Coe spoke on behalf of the

American people . . . and I had been asked to speak but was in Peitaiho, so I made a tape recording in conjunction with five Americans who were there.

Holland Roberts of San Francisco, asked for copies, saying he could probably get them published by Negro publications in the USA. I have prepared such copies but am holding them until I hear from you, since you may have a better idea for their handling. Please let me know tomorrow morning when I understand you are giving us a talk.

Yours,

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

P.S.—I suggested originally that our American group give you a dinner or in some way meet with you to discuss what WE here can do to support the American Negroes. . . . The Peace Committee says it would be possible to arrange such a date. However, since the Epsteins, and Dr. Ma and Tang Mingchao are all out of the city, and these are at least half of the strongest part of our group, it would be better to make it on your return to Peking, as a farewell dinner. The idea would be dinner in my house for about 12 people plus evening discussion. Let me know also your thought on this.

Greetings to the Peking Rally for Support of the American Negro Students on August 12, 1963

(A recorded speech given by Anna Louise Strong on Aug. 11)

This is Anna Louise Strong, on behalf of four Americans and one Canadian living and working in China—at present in Peitaiho: Anna Louise Strong, writer; Talitha Gerlach, of the China Welfare Institute, Shanghai; Dr. George Hatem (Ma Hai-teh) for 30 years in China's public health service; Bertha Hinton, the Peking Institute of Foreign Languages. Dorise Nielsen, wartime progressive member of the Canadian Parliament.

As five North Americans living and working for a considerable time in China, we send our greeting to your Rally from Peitaiho. We heard by radio the call of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the "people of the world" to support the American Negroes' struggle for freedom. We are glad to declare that we are a hundred percent behind this struggle. We want to bear witness that we, Americans living, working and travelling extensively in China, have seen for ourselves how widely and deeply the Chinese people of all walks of life and of all ages, are interested in the American Negroes' struggle for freedom, and give it their full support. Everywhere the Chinese people follow through their press the details of this struggle, and discuss it in conversation. Even the children's magazines publish the story of the heroic Negro children in Birmingham, who are much admired by Chinese youth.

We think it important to say this, because we are constantly told by the foreign press, and even by letters, that the Chinese "hate America" and even have "hate America campaigns." This is an utter lie, and we are glad of the chance to contradict it. Chinese indeed do hate American imperialism which is the enemy of all the world's peoples and of the American people themselves, and which threatens the entire world with nuclear war. But Chinese show great respect and love for the American people, and show great interest in anything that affects their welfare; they believe that one day they will find the American people their ally in making a better and a peaceful world. So they greet the great Negro struggles for Freedom with sincere hopes.

Second, we wish to inform the American Negroes that China herself is an example that shows that racial discrimination and inequality can be abolished, since its peoples of many different nationalities, even the most undeveloped which for hundreds of years have lived as illiterate slaves, wild tribes in the hills, without even a written language, not even knowing the methods of farming, but living on wild roots, have actually in recent years gained freedom, equality and access to all the culture known to man. These peoples have awakened and come into the light. Not only do they live without discrimination, they get fraternal help in gaining education and in learning the techniques of modern farming and industry.

What we have seen in China proves that racial equality can be achieved, discrimination can be abolished, political, economic and social equality can all be attained, with good and friendly relations between different races with different cultures. It is being done successfully in China and this should give hope to the American Negroes too. Today all racism and racial discrimination is alien to the liberated Chinese.

However, the experience of the Chinese people suggests that the American Negroes will not gain the full benefits under the present social system in America. Very many gains can be made under the American social system by determined, united struggle, but we do not believe that complete freedom and equality can be attained under American capitalism. It is necessary for the monopoly capitalists of America to have a subject class which can take the shock of the ups and downs of the capitalist economy on their own bodies, letting the capitalists profit. This is the use they make now of the Negroes. So, while we are proud of your present victories, we think and hope you also realize that final victory cannot be won until you overthrow the monopoly capitalism of America, your final enemy, and also the enemy of the American people and of the people of the world.

We are glad to note that the Negro fighters for Freedom now are not being fooled by President Kennedy nor by his brother Bobby. You will be able to pry some rights from them by pressure, but these rights are gained not from their benevolence, but by your own struggle and power and not in any other way.

The American Negroes learned a bitter lesson by the way their hopes were betrayed a century ago. What happened? A civil war was fought between the industrial, capitalist northern states, whose rising industry was based on cheap immigrant wage-labor from Europe, and the feudal ruling class of the southern states, who lived on the Negro slave labor on plantations. This was at first nearly a draw. Then President Abraham Lincoln announced the "Emancipation" of the Negroes as a war aim thus he won a powerful ally. When the war was won by the north the Negroes were "free," and some were even given land and sat in legislatures in equality with whites. But all this was short lived. The northern capitalists feared the power of the people thus released and joined hands with the southern feudal powers to suppress the Negroes again, using new forms to maintain the old enslavement.

Today by the power of united mass actions, which terrifies the Kennedy administration, the Negroes may gain several rights: the right to vote, some rights in schools, some in restaurants and busses, and some right to a few jobs in offices and commercial establishments. These are gains promised in the Birmingham negotiations; they are intended to satisfy the well-to-do and educated Negroes. And possibly some of the Negro leaders will be satisfied and say: "We can't expect everything at once." They will make their peace with Kennedy. This would be the same kind of betrayal that the northern capitalists made a century ago after the civil war.

For this would sell-out the great mass of Negroes, the illiterate, the unskilled, the dispossessed. These are the men and women thrown out of jobs in every wave of unemployment. They are thrown out by automation in industry and by modernization of farming. The Kennedy administration will never give job equality to these men because it cannot. This is the class needed by monopoly capital to serve as a buffer against all changes in the economy, so capitalists may keep their profits. They can never get job security and equality without complete reorganization of the economic and social system of the United States.

These are the men and women, in the south and in the north, whom the Kennedy administration fears. It was the dispossessed of Birmingham that fought the final battle with the police. They cannot get job security and equality short of a new social system. Even beyond that, they need long struggle to develop literacy and skills.

If the well-to-do and educated Negroes desert their own people, their own gains will soon be lost. As long as the Negro people stand together and continue their fight for equality and freedom, this will light the struggle of the entire American working-class to overthrow the monopoly capitalism of America.

There are signs already that this is occurring. All over the United States the "Freedom Marches" are taking place in the big cities, led and organized by the Negro people but with white workers and progressives beginning to join in. When 20,000 people marched in San Francisco up Market St. to hold a Rally in the Civic Square, the two men who led the march were a Negro leader and Harry Bridges, a white man, the most famous progressive labor leader in America. This cooperation already goes so far that some of our friends in America, in writing to us, speak of the "Negro Revolution" as the center of all progressive activities. It is indeed, revolutionary in significance and in potential when the hitherto suppressed Negro people take to the streets to fight for their rights.

Why, let us ask, is it just now that the American Negroes are rising, after the suppressions of a hundred years? Many reasons may be found inside America, but is it not also true that a basic reason lies in the world situation. Imperialism decays: all over the earth the long suppressed nations and peoples rise in revolutionary struggles. These struggles for national liberation and independence already shake three continents; in all of them the demand for racial equality plays a basic part.

This reflects itself in the struggles of the American Negroes. They gain self respect and hope from the rising of the African peoples. This international factor gives them encouragement.

It is significant that Robert Williams, a Negro leader now in refuge in Cuba has appealed to Mao Tse-tung of China for a statement. This is because China is recognized as the clearest voice in today's upsurge of long suppressed peoples.

Mao Tse-tung speaks of the "links" which the present struggle reveals between the reactionary policies of the American government at home and its policies of aggression abroad. All around the world today, American monopoly capital maintains its hold by cash and violence on undeveloped nations, all of which grow ever more restive under its yoke. Every nation that breaks from its control, weakens the power of U.S. imperialism. The united action of the world's peoples is the force that will end this imperialism, and ensure a stable world peace.

This struggle now finds a parallel link inside the U.S.A. in the Negro struggles, which have the same enemy. U.S. monopoly capital can only flourish at the expense of the laboring people, of whom the Negroes are the most cruelly suppressed. Now they begin to resist this exploitation in the very stronghold of U.S. imperialism, undermining monopoly capital from within.

This Negro struggle is not yet the American Revolution but may spark it. As more and more of the American working class and progressives join to support the Negro movement for Freedom now, this may win a new birth of freedom for all exploited Americans and reinforces the anti-imperialist struggles of the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever assist Max Stanford to get any money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I once gave him, I think, 100-some dollars. And I also gave him \$250. But I never assisted him in getting any money. There was no place to get it from.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know about his getting \$1,500 from the Guinean embassy in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I know about the fact that I lost \$1,500 trying to give it to the civil rights movement in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Through the Guinean embassy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it was not through the Guinean embassy. It was through an African. And they did not get it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would be glad to have you tell us about that if you want to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the money was money that I had raised incidentally—you will notice that the American foreigners who lived abroad were trying to get together and help me. They were trying to raise money, not to help me as an individual, but they said that they would raise money to help the black people in America, if I knew organizations, people or groups that I wanted them to help.

So as a result of this I was able to raise some money, some dollars. And in trying to send it to the United States, I tried to send it by an African. And some of the Cuban officials were opposed to this. And the African stole the money. And the Cubans—he was supposed to have been working in Cuba—and the Cubans sent him out of the country the next day to keep me from getting the money back.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that man?

Mr. WILLIAMS. So it was sabotage.

A man named D. H. Manseur.

Mr. SOURWINE. D. H. Manseur?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never got any of your money back?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. And the Cubans helped to cover it up, and helped also to cause me to lose the money, because they were opposed to black nationalism. In fact, I had asked them to help us, and they had refused. As a result, I made private appeals to private individuals. And the money I got I gave, or tried to send to them.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that you tried to send this money by Manseur?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was in either 1965 or 1966, I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were in Cuba at the time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever see him again?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I saw him in Tanzania.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get your money back then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. He claimed the Cubans had stolen the money, the Cuban Intelligence, or the Security Police.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I am sorry about that money being lost.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. To get back to Max Stanford, if I understand you correctly, you are saying that you did not know that he had received \$1,500 from the Guinean embassy in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not know whether he had received any from the Guinean embassy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not any, \$1,500.

Mr. WILLIAMS. \$1,500.

Off the record—

Mr. SOURWINE. On this one let us not go off the record permanently, Mr. Williams.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't remember it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you get the receipt that he signed for it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't remember. It is possible that I could have gotten a receipt. But I do not remember, because there are many things that happened, and this was vague.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will tell you, the receipt was in your possession.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That could be possible too, because there are a lot of things in my possession that I do not know about or do not recall. Some have gotten in to my possession, and so—I don't know—could have been put into my possession. I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record again for a minute.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Do you know or did you know J. J. Freeman, of Seattle, Washington?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I remember that name from correspondence, but I do not know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you the letters to you from Freeman. And there is a third sheet behind, which you have a perfect right to look at, but I would be grateful if you would glance at the two letters first and tell me if they refresh your memory as to who Freeman was, and then look at the third sheet, and tell me who he is.

I want to say for the record that for all I know, this is a man who never met the witness, and the letters may never have been answered. I am just trying to find out if the witness has any memory on this.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I remember this letter. But I do not know the man personally, just through correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you want to see what he is, look at the third sheet.

And I will ask that the two letters and the sheet attached which shows who Mr. Freeman is all go in the record at this point.

The fact that he wrote you, of course, you not knowing him, and not having answered his letters, is no detriment to you in any way. Did you meet this man in Cuba, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't remember meeting him. But I do remember this letter and the correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about him that would make you think he might be a good candidate for President? I notice there is mention of him running for President.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is that right?

Mr. SOURWINE. This is Counsel's Exhibit Number 52.

(The material "Exhibit 52" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 52

FEBRUARY 28, 1968.

DEAR ROB: The Post Office finally delivered the December issue of the *Crusader* after much hell raising. Three months late. We will spread them out among SNCC, CORE, and workers as evenly as possible. I like it.

IMPORTANT!

We have formed an organization here called the October 8th Movement. It is Guevara oriented. One of our central committeemen, R. H. Thorn, a Petty Officer on the USS Buchanan has informed me that the Buchanan—a missile frigate—on the 18th of Feb. levelled two (2) villages near Hue with 5" 54 guns.

In December an anti-Viet Nam War group formed by Bob on the Buchanan refused to guard the nuclear weapons on that ship. On the 3rd of Feb. the Buchanan sailed with 2 sister ships equally armed supposedly for Japan. At that same time there was a panic of sorts in this country that Khe Sanh would fall. The Buchanan is now sailing up and down the coast of Viet Nam with Khe Sanh within easy range of her SRAM* nuclear-tipped missiles.

Considering Senator LBJ on May 6, 1964 swore there would be "no American Dien Bien Phu as long as he could help it." I think the situation is grave.

Sincerely,

J. J. FREEMAN.

SEATTLE, WASH., March 7, 1968.

DEAR ROB: Have found an excellent person among black militants in Northwest to represent you. His name is Lloyd P. Jackson, 5000 30th so. Seattle, Wash. 98108. He is the head of the Voters Registration League here and is respected by both political grass-root organizations and Black Militants. He is

*Short Range Attack Missile.

sophisticated and vicious; a veteran of combat and stable family man. He must be nearly 40 years old if not older, and says he has somewhat kept tract of your activities over the years and highly respects you. He came to me, not I to him, asking if there was anything he could do to help you. So I think he seriously wants to do this. I'm beginning to think your returning and running for President is a good idea. If properly organized, I would not be surprised if you got 10 million or more black and white votes.

In the last week I've been doing a great deal of investigation of Black Militants in this area. It is a great deal more advanced and rolling harder than I thought. I have been invited into the inner core of the Black Militants in this area and it seems I am the first white man to receive this honor here. I suggest that we start nation-wide publicity of your campaign as soon as possible. We should hold a press conference in New York, Monroe, Seattle and if possible in Chicago, etc, all on the same evening which will make it look big, with a follow-up announcement from you in Peking, confirming your candidacy for the presidency.

Write to Jackson as soon as possible.

Finally received Sept.-Oct. issues of the *Crusader*.

Sincerely,

JACK FREEMAN,
Commander, October 8th Mov.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Israel Epstein?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about Mr. Epstein?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think—I do not know what citizenship he has got, but he claims to be British.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you meet him, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I met him in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he still there as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he living in the same quarters that you were?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what he is doing there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know what he is doing.

Mr. SOURWINE. He pretty near has to be working for the government, doesn't he, if he is there at all?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Off the record for a minute.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Answer the question.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Ly Van-sau?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is presently a member of the Vietcong delegation in Paris.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he spent three or four years in Cuba connected with students and youth. In Cuba he was a member of the Permanent Mission of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Where did you know him, in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your association with him, if any, Mr. Williams.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually it was a friendly association. He used to visit my house all the time. He would come by and he would want to talk about the black struggle in the United States. And he gave me literature on Vietnam, and he told me what was happening there, and what was going on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Harry Haywood?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I never met him, only through correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter addressed to you signed Harry Haywood dated February 30, 19 either 1965 or 1966, I presume it was 1966. Can you tell us?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think that was 1965.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1965.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was probably after my first trip to China.

Mr. SOURWINE. It couldn't haven't been 1964 could it? It looks like either a "5" or a "6."

What is the date there?

Mr. CRAIG. That looks like a "4" with a "5" over it.

Mr. SOURWINE. A "4" with a "5" over it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It must have been 1965, because that is before I left.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the month?

Mr. CRAIG. February 30.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is probably 1965.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have never seen a February 30 in my life, have you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had not noticed it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That letter is pretty clearly dated February 30, isn't it?

Mr. CRAIG. It sure is.

Mr. SOURWINE. He could have forgotten that it was 1965 and written 1964 and had to strike it over.

Mr. CRAIG. That is really perplexing, February 30.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have an independent recollection of the letter, sir, or is all you know about it seeing it now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I remember hearing from him. I suppose that is the same letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I see it? There is one question I wanted to ask about it.

I will offer this letter for the record as Counsel's Exhibit 42, if it is not already admitted.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 42" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 42

FEBRUARY 30, 1965.

DEAR ROB: We've been following your career with great interest. Congratulations on your trip to China. Will you please send several copies of the latest Crusader, and some back copies if you have some available.

I think it is past time for us to get acquainted. I have been in the Communist movement since the early 1920s. I was the Chairman of the Negro Commission of the CP during the early 30s when the Scottsboro struggle was initiated and the Sharecroppers' Union organized. I fought with the Lincoln Brigade in Spain and shipped out as a merchant seaman during World War II. In 1948 I published my book, Negro Liberation. Since that time, I and most of the other Negro Communists have been in opposition to the CP line on the Negro question, which amounted to trailing the NAACP in tactics and liquidating any militant, independent initiative from the left in the Negro field. But that is a long story. The upshot of the internal struggle was the expulsion of most of the Negro members from the CP during the late 1950s. I wrote a manuscript at the time, "For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question," which was mimeographed in several hundred copies and was largely accepted by the vast majority of the Negro comrades. The point is, I am still in touch with many of them, and there is a strong sentiment for the organization of a center for a militant Negro movement independent of the current general Marxist organizations in the U.S.

When I was in New York last fall, I met with Progressive Labor. I consider them a very fine group of young people, but there is tremendous confusion on the Negro question. I am confident that it can be straightened out eventually, but time flies, and confused leadership cannot lead. As a matter of principle, and from years of bitter experience, the Negro comrades feel that any serious movement has to be Negro-led, and there cannot be a white veto on policy and action, no matter how well intentioned the white leadership is.

I have just completed, in collaboration with my wife, the draft of a book. The tentative title is "Towards a Revolutionary Program for Negro Freedom," and it is dedicated to you. I am sending it along under separate cover. I am very interested in your opinion of it, and specific suggestions and criticisms. I am confident that we can reach agreement on a common position. We especially want your reaction to the specific organizational proposals.

My wife, Gwen, is a native of New Orleans, 34 years old, and has been in the movement since the age of 14. She just completed her M.A. in Latin American history here. She has worked closely with me throughout the in-

ternal struggle during the past decade, and is well acquainted with the issues and events. She just returned from a trip to New Orleans, and is convinced that a major crisis is shaping up there this summer.

I am going to New York in about two weeks to see about publication of the book, and to get some money together to move my family up there. My wife and our two children will stay here in Mexico until the beginning of June. You can keep in touch through her. We are especially anxious to get something started organizationally as soon as possible. We believe the racists are preparing for a real massacre this summer, and we'd like to do everything possible to help organize the best possible reaction to it. When I get to New York, I will meet with Progressive Labor and a number of other contacts and see what the reaction is.

Let us hear from you soon. I hope we can meet personally in the near future.

Warmest regards to you and your family.

HARRY HATWOOD.

Mr. SOURWINE. He identifies him as a Chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party in the early thirties, and then he goes on and talks about the completion of a draft of a book "Toward a Revolutionary Program for Negro Freedom." Did you ever get an opportunity to see that book?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I remember I saw a section of it, a manuscript that was sent to me to look at.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember what you did with it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't send it back to him, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you express an opinion to him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. He wanted an opinion, but I didn't express an opinion. I was having quite a bit of trouble myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. The material that we received did not include any such manuscript, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I could have lost it some place.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not holding you accountable for it.

You never did express an opinion to him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give permission to have the book dedicated to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. But I would not have objected to it if it had been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Langston Hughes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your association with him?

Mr. CRAIG. That is the late Langston Hughes?

Mr. SOURWINE. He is deceased?

Mr. CRAIG. Deceased.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not know he was dead.

Mr. CRAIG. About a year.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not know that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was a student when he came to Johnson City University (Johnson C. Smith University) in Charlotte for a lecture. I met him there. I think that was in 1953, 1952 or 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you two poems, one of them signed Langston Hughes. This was in the material that we got from Customs under our subpoena. And I will ask you, did Langston Hughes himself send you these?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. He wrote them to me as a New Year's greeting.
Mr. SOURWINE. Was there any other special occasion, or were they both New Year's greetings?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They were sent New Year's. I think they were original poems that he wrote especially for the New Year for me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Langston Hughes a supporter of the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he is deceased now. I only knew him as a student, a college student. He thought I had promise as a writer, and he took an interest in me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

I will ask that these two Langston Hughes poems as identified be incorporated into the record.

(The poems marked "Exhibit 43" follow:)

EXHIBIT No. 43

THE BACKLASH BLUES

(by Langston Hughes)

Mister Backlash, Mister Backlash,
Just who do you think I am?
You raise my taxes, freeze my wages,
Send my son to Vietnam.

You give me second class houses,
Second class schools.
Do you think that colored folks
Are just second class fools?

When I try to find a job
To earn a little cash,
All you got to offer
Is a white backlash.

But the world is big,
Big and bright and round—
And it's full of folks like me who are
Black, Yellow, Beige, and Brown.

Mister Backlash, Mister Backlash,
What do you think I got to lose?
I'm gonna leave you, Mister Backlash,
Singing your mean old backlash blues.

*You're the one
Will have the blues,
not me—
Wait and see!*

CROWNS AND GARLANDS

(by Langston Hughes)

Make a garland of Leontynes and Lenas
And hang it about your neck
Like a lei.

Make a crown of Sammys, Sidneys, Harrys,
Plus Cassius Mohammed Ali Clay.
Put their laurels on your brow
Today—

Then before you can walk or run
To your neighborhood grocery,
Watch them droop, wilt, fade
Away.

Though worn in glory on my head,
They do not last a day—
Not one—

Nor take the place of meat or bread
Or rent that I must pay.
Great names for crowns and garlands!
Yeah!

I love Ralph Bunche—
But I can't eat him for lunch.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know James Foreman, or do you know him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I know James Foreman. In fact, James Foreman visited me in Monroe, in fact he was there when I had to leave.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has he been a close friend of yours?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but I have not been in touch with him—he was before I left.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not been in touch with him since you left the country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not directly. I may have received literature from him. I may have heard from him, but we were not working together in any capacity, I do not think.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, that you did hear from him last year?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When I was in Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. You got two letters from him—it appears to be a letter and a note on the same day, August 3, 1969. Don't you remember? I will show them to you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was probably when I was in Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you might remember that, since he had been a good friend, and this was the first time you had heard from him in 7 years. Do you remember your reply to those letters, if you did reply?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not reply.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not. Thank you.

I will ask the Chairman to order that this letter and note go in the records.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 44" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 44

AUGUST 3, 1969.

DEAR ROB: I am writing you after seven or more years of silence. I have followed your career with interest and have worked here in the United States for revolution, a dedication of yours.

In particular I am most interested in knowing if you wrote the letter to Mae Mallory which bears your signature. If you are the author, then I am afraid you have been wrongly advised—Mae has always defended you and worked in your behalf. Personally I have the utmost confidence in her and hope that my word has some meaning to you.

While I am writing, please ask Brothers Giadi & Imari to stop calling the Black Economic Development Conference counter-revolutionary. We do not fight the Republic of New Africa & we wish these two representatives would stop attacking us.

Rest assured, and you will never know the extent, I have tried to help your cause.

In Brotherhood,

JIM.

August 3, 1969.

DEAR ROB: My regards to your family and this is to further introduce Brother Wilbur Grotton with whom you have corresponded. Looking forward to seeing you again one day.

JIM FOREMAN.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, can you tell us who Lewis J. Stoneham is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The name is familiar, but I cannot place him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the M.L.E.C. is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter signed Lewis Stoneham, Director, M.L.E.C., and ask you if that refreshes your memory.

I should point out that that letter is 7 years old this month. So if you do not remember it, there is no ground for complaint.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not know him personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember whether you answered this letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I probably did, because most of those letters from active people in groups I answered them.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you still do not know what M.L.E.C. means?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this go in the record as identified. It was what was shown to the witness.

(The document marked "Exhibit 39" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 39.

HACIENDA HEIGHTS, CALIF., March 21, 1968.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Peking, Peoples Republic of China.

DEAR BROTHER WILLIAMS: We were all greatly pleased to have received your correspondence of March 7th which arrived here Saturday, March 16th. I'm sorry to learn of your visa problems and the inability to reach Sweden for your speaking tour. These attempts to thwart your efforts brazenly display the frantic efforts of the totally corrupt Johnson regime to continue the suppression and enslavement of the Black nation in America.

If we can be of any assistance to you in assisting your return to the U.S.A., please inform us. Should the Federal agents attempt to prosecute you on the trumped-up Monroe charges, we will definitely establish defense committees across America on your behalf—on a larger scale than those of the CAMD several years ago. The ACLU and the Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (formerly the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born) will also give you their full support. Thus, you will have both Black & White support should the Johnson regime attempt to persecute you.

Last Sunday I visited Frank Greenwood who has written a play based on your life and he was very happy to have had the opportunity to read your letter. Frank is also in agreement of organizing a nationwide chain of defense committees, consisting of both Afro-Americans and Whites, on your behalf for maximum psychological impact on the general public.

Although I realize you may be reluctant to leave the Peoples Republic of China where the great proletarian cultural revolution has demonstrated to the world the greatness of Chairman Mao's thought, your presence is needed in America to lead the Black liberation struggle in America to its successful conclusion.

If it appears that your return home may result in an illegal imprisonment by the fascist regime, it may be best that you establish temporary headquarters in Mexico from where your presence will be more closely felt by those in the vanguard of the Black emancipation struggle.

Again, do not hesitate to ask us of any assistance needed. With the very best of wishes to you, your wife, and the Chinese people, we proudly salute your valiant struggle.

Long Live Chairman Mao!

LEWIS J. STONEHAM,
Director, M.L.E.C.

P.S.—Yesterday, we picketted the New Federal Building in Los Angeles for the release of H. Rap Brown and there we gave away the last of our Chairman Mao badges to Afro-American participants. These badges are highly prized and we hope that we will be supplied with additional badges in the near future. Your book, "Negroes With Guns," is being advertised in the current Black Panther publication.

LEWIS J. STONEHAM.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you first make contact with Radio Station WBAI in New York, do you remember? Did they write to you, or did you write to them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I wrote to them. I know once they wrote to me and asked to use some material that I had written, but I think I also remember writing to them to see if they wanted some of my tape.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they did, didn't they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is covered by this letter, which I will show you, and which I offer for the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 28.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 28" follows:)

RADIO STATION WBAI,
New York, N.Y., November 29, 1962.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Havana, Cuba.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you for your letter offering programs. We are sending tapes under separate cover and hope these will reach you within a week or two. They will be dispatched at the Library Material rate.

We shall look forward to receiving programs from you.

Sincerely,

RICHARD M. ELMAN,
Public Affairs Director.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask you sir, did you furnish any program tapes to WBAI?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they furnish you with the blank tapes to be filled in with your programs?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They replaced my tape that I gave them.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of programs did you furnish them with?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The programs of Radio Free Dixie that we broadcast.

Mr. SOURWINE. These were programs that you had already broadcast?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you or do you know Chris Koch, public affairs director of Station WBAI, New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us if this letter is the only letter you ever got from Chris Koch?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is all I remember, because I do not know him personally.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never specifically got in touch with him, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not think so. It was just the station. I did not know anybody else there.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I am trying to reach. Apparently you gave a message to the station to one Dick Elman and he turned it over to Koch, is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask that that may go into the record.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 29" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 29

RADIO STATION WBAI,
New York, N.Y., November 13, 1963.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Havana, Cuba.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: Dick Elman turned your letter of November 5 over to me.

We would be extremely happy to have the tape recordings which you mentioned. I have sent six replacement tapes directly to you under separate cover in Havana.

I'll let you know when your tapes arrive here and will also keep you informed on any possible broadcast plans.

Sincerely yours,

CHRIS KOCH,
Public Affairs Director.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your association with Pete Young of Station WARL-TV Raleigh in Raleigh, North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, Pete Young interviewed me by telephone from Havana. He was the newsman at the station there. And he did some telephone interviews from Havana. And he also worked for one of the national columnists—I do not remember the columnist now, but he was what you call a legman for one of the famous columnists. And they were planning to come to Havana and interview me before I left. And I left before they got there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he represent you in offering your film to American radio networks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I asked him if he knew anybody in it. And he suggested that I might try the ABC in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. He didn't offer them for you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You may want to strike that. I don't want to trap you. That letter indicates he did.

Let us go off the record for a moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I may have. Because I remember asking him, because I did not know anybody who could handle the film. So he may have.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this letter go in the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 26.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 26" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 26

WRAL-TV,
Raleigh, N.C.Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS,
Havana, Cuba.

DEAR Mr. WILLIAMS: As per your request, I have notified two of the three American networks of your film offer. From now on, you will be hearing directly from representatives of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

Both nets have exhibited keen interest in your wares; both nets gave assurances that they would arrange for shipment of the film in such a way as to insure its safe arrival and eventual return to you. Additionally, you should ask whatever net you finally deal with to make you a "dub" or duplicate of the film, before they take it into the cutting room for their own editing purposes.

When negotiating a price for the film, please keep in mind that despite the State Department restrictions, both nets get regular film from China via foreign news services.

Both nets are reputable organizations, but, assuming their bids are approximately the same, I would recommend that you deal with NBC rather than ABC. There are several reasons for this, chief of which is that NBC has the finest news setup of any broadcasting organization in the world and is therefore in a position to do a better job with your film and its eventual presentation. This piece of advice to you should be kept confidential.

As for the story on Lt. Alvarez, I have inclosed what the Associated Press carried late Friday afternoon. In that connection, please send me immediately the picture of yourself and Alvarez. I will return it to you, after the Associated Press makes a wirephoto.

Please keep me posted on how the film negotiations go. If I can be of any further help to you, let me know (but from now on, either write or get Dr. Castro to pay for the phone calls).

I would like very much to pay you a combination social-business visit in Havana; the hangup is to find somebody willing to pick up the tab for the round-trip ticket.

Regards,

PETE YOUNG.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did any American network buy film from you, Mr. Williams?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. They didn't buy it directly from me, but they bought it from my station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it NBC or ABC or some other network?

Mr. WILLIAMS. CBS.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, Pete Young, didn't sell it for you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. That was another film way back. And the film was eventually sold, I think in Canada or some place.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know who sold it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money out of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Vince Copeland?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think Vince Copeland is some kind of an editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. To refresh your recollection I will show you a letter from him to you dated September 28, 1967 on the letterhead of the Workers' World. Now do you know who he is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think he is an editor, some kind of an associate editor or something of the Workers' World, a newspaper.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a newspaper, is it a daily?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I think it is a weekly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where it is published?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your association with Mr. Copeland, if any?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They always sent me copies of their newspapers, they sent them to me when I was in Cuba, and when I was in China. And I do not know what else. I think they supported the committee of the other people who were indicted along with me. But I was not here.

Mr. SOURWINE. I offer this to go in the record at this point as Counsel's Exhibit 25.

(The document marked "Exhibit 25" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 25

WORKERS WORLD,
September 28, 1967.

ROB WILLIAMS,
Peking, China.

DEAR ROB: We are going to publish a special issue of WW for the October 21 anti-war march to Washington, which promises to be a very militant one. We may enlarge the paper for the occasion, and in any case, we will distribute thousands more than usual.

Would you like to write a special article directed to the anti-war marchers—perhaps the story of your case and the organization of the movement for your return?

The deadline for this special issue will be Thurs. Oct. 12, but there will be a little leeway. Your letters usually take about four days to get here.

Enclosing the latest frameup of RAM people, or alleged RAM people. It was in this morning's Times.

Very best,

VINCE COPELAND.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know or did you know Ed Weber of the University of Michigan Library?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is a librarian there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he one of several librarians to whom you sent your publications?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He handles a special collection there of publications.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a copy of a letter to you from him with regard to this. Did you have any further correspondence with him or other contacts with him that you can recall?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. That is through correspondence. However, I met him once before I left the country when I spoke at the University of Michigan, that is where I met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

May this go in the record as Counsel's Exhibit Number 22.

(The document marked "Exhibit 22" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 22

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
Ann Arbor, December 10, 1966.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Peking, China.

DEAR ROB WILLIAMS: Thanks for sending me the latest issue of The Crusader, volume 8, no. 1. We received three issues of Volume 7—were there any others? We want to have a complete file of The Crusader.

Do you remember my roommate, Will Curley? He is still studying voice in Vienna and has married an Austrian girl and is a father again.

Christmas greeting to you, Mabel and the children. May we see peace and brotherhood in our time!

Write if you get a chance.

With warm personal regards,

ED WEBER.

Mr. SOURWINE. Referring again to a memorandum to Mr. Copeland, was he one of the distributors of *The Crusader*?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Conrad Lynn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Conrad Lynn was my attorney when I was in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he still your attorney?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any residual connection or association with him now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not any direct association. I still hear from him, but he is not handling any cases of mine.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not know what we may be getting to here. Let me go off the record for a moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

I will show you a letter and ask if this refreshes your recollection, what can you tell us about it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was a fellow who went to Conrad Lynn to get my address so he could write to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Lynn your lawyer at the time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. He was trying to collect some royalties on a book for me.

Mr. SOURWINE. But this letter is not about that legal business?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

May this go in the record, Mr. Chairman. I have marked it as Counsel's Exhibit Number 23.

(The document marked Exhibit "Number 23" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 23

THE NEW MEDIA PROJECT,
Washington, D.C.

ROBERT WILLIAMS,
Peking, Peoples Republic of China.

DEAR ROBERT: I got your address from Conrad Lynn, with whom I am working out arrangements for some young reporters to go to Cuba this fall to write for underground, political, and college newspapers. I don't know, but I presume, you're well informed on developments in the movement here, and particularly the black revolution; equally, I with others am hoping you'll find some way of coming back to the U.S., as you've become something of a legend here in many quarters and could do a lot of agitating before being locked up (and with a good lawyer, such as Conrad is, that should take a while.)

So, in fact, I'm writing more to express myself and my appreciation of your life than to inform or aid you in any particular way. I first learned of your Monroe activities through Truman Nelson, with whom I spent some time in Newbury, Mass., just after finishing with college (I am now 21 years old).

Obviously, I agree with Stokley and Rap about the endemic violence of the American character and the need for armed self-protection for the blacks here, but somehow I wasn't aware that you were doing just this bag at a time when I was starting high school and digging the 'moral' nonviolence of the civil rights movement without, of course, myself suffering the consequences.

What you did in Monroe and the manner in which you were _____ is, in my opinion, one of the most moving and educational things to come out of the now long-dead civil rights movement. Your return would bring the legend to much wider publicity and life again, and tend to justify in the eyes of blacks themselves (who are the only ones that count) the concept of black power, which to date, and especially here in D.C., strikes many of them as too audacious to be also possible.

For my part, I am sort of leading white college kids around the niggers of the ghettos writing in their newspapers (I once edited a very radical year of the Boston University News) and speaking on their campuses, when I'm not prohibited by one rule or another. Also, of course, I'm refusing the draft, but my draft board has chosen to ignore me to date, and just returned from Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, and a meeting with reps from the DRV and NLF.

I am hoping, I should admit, that when you get this letter, you'll take some time to answer it, tell me how you have found life in China as an American, and come spend some time here with the Liberation News Service if you get to the States. I also offer whatever services I can—if, for example, you'd like examples of new newspapers published here by the Underground Press Syndicate, details on the Bratislava conference, copies of SNCC's paper, The Movement, etc.

And _____, man, keep the faith.

Yours,

RAY MUNGO.

P.S.—This letter is being sent via Harry Pincus, 8 Rosslyn Hill, London NW 3. Conrad says you can answer directly. If so, OK. The State Dept. is wise to my whole _____ life as it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have further correspondence with Ray Mungo mentioned in that letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. They used to send me their news bulletin. It was supposed to be some type of news press service.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the extent of your association?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I don't know him, I have never met him. It was just that they had a new media for the youth and the young radicals, and they sent out news releases.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what Mungo means by his reference to "a meeting with reps from the DRV at the NLF."?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, unless he might have been referring to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, I suppose.

Mr. SOURWINE. And NLF could have meant the National Liberation Front, in other words, the Vietcong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It could.

Mr. SOURWINE. What contacts have you had with the Black Arts Alliance, or with Mr. Dudley Randall of Detroit, Michigan, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show you a letter and see if it refreshes your recollection.

I said letter. I misspoke. This is a two-page bulletin called the Black Arts Bulletin. Can you tell us anything about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I think this is just supposed to be a bulletin of the cultural affairs and things people are dealing with as to black people in the United States, it is a cultural thing.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Dudley Randall mentioned there of Detroit, Michigan, is he anyone with whom you have contact?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask this may go in the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit 18.

(The bulletin marked "Exhibit 18" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 18

Black Arts Bulletin—January 1968; Winter Issue; No. 1

Baltimore

Sam Cornish, Baltimore poet, has published several collections of verse, among them *Generations* and *Angels*. He edits the magazine *Chicory*.

Chicago

Eugene Perkins of Chicago has published a collection of poems called *Apology To My African Brother*.

Chicago writers have put out a collection called *Black Expression*.

Nashville

Fisk University Third Annual Writer's Conference will be held on campus in Nashville April 19 through April 21. Conference theme will be *THE BLACK WRITER'S VISION FOR AMERICA*. For further information contact John O. Killens, Fisk University, P.O. Box 37203.

New York

Umbra magazine has resumed publication with its third issue.

Free Lance's Winter number will be a memorial to the late Langston Hughes.

Newark

LeRoi Jones is looking for black audiences for *Black Spring*—A documentary of the Black Arts alliance travels on the West Coast, Spring '67. Features: Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Huey P. Newton, LeRoi Jones, Floyd McKissick, Black Art, Order from JIHAD PRODUCTIONS, P.O. Box 663, Newark, N.J.

San Francisco

Joe Gonclaves, 1308 Masonic Ave., apt. 4, San Francisco, California 94117, has a list of black bookstores available for 25 cents for those seeking outlets. It lists stores not included in so-called reference books.

Washington, D.C.

The United States Commerce Department publishes a *Guide to Negro Marketing Information* which lists advertising media. It's available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20005, for 40 cents.

Detroit

Black Choreologia, an evening of Negro poetry, music, and dance, is being presented by Aaron Thompson in Detroit and surrounding area. Drummers and flutists provide a sensation driving rhythm. "Slick" Campbell reads his poems and Aaron Thompson skillfully weaves Cullen's "Heritage" throughout the program. However, a more pertinent answer could be given to Cullen's question "What is Africa to me?" than the poems from Shakespeare, Markham, Omar Khayam and the Bible chanted by Thompson. Poets of African descent such as McKay, Hughes, Tolson, Toomer, Hayden and especially Margaret Danner, have written of Africa with deep feeling and power. They should be added.

—Dudley Randall

Detroit poets participated in a Benefit Poetry Reading sponsored by Black Arts for the Defense Fund for Brothers LeRoi Jones, Charles McCray, and Barry Wynn, who were charged with the possession of firearms during the Newark uprising. Poets Ahmed Le Graham Alhamisi, Alfred Campbell, Harun Kofi Wangara (Harold G. Lawrence), Elton Hill, Oliver LaGrone, Mike McNance, Jesse Wates, Dudley Randall, and Joyce Whitsitt, Bomar recited from works of Jones. Music was provided by members of Aaron Thompson's Black Choreologia company. The affair took place at David Rambeau's Concept East Theatre.

Poet Larry Neal was at the Detroit Repertory Theatre in an effort to raise funds for a feature-length semi-documentary film: *Revolution In Black America*. The film is being produced by American Documentary Films, Inc., a San Francisco-based non-profit foundation. Send your contributions to American Documentary Films, Inc. 114 Blecker St., New York, N.Y., Larry Neal, Writer-Director.

The Black Writer's Workshop, a newly formed group of black students at Wayne State, has published a collection of poetry, short stories, etc. entitled *Good & Black*. The students include Gary Alexander, Kristin Cleage, Elton Hill, Sherry McClure, Mike Nance & Beth Ann Waitho. For more information contact the Black Writer's Workshop c/o Elton Hill, 15346 Kentucky, Detroit, Michigan, Phone: 341-1833.

The Association of Black Students, a campus organization at Wayne State University, is presenting a Black Symposium: *Making The University Relevant To The Black Community* on the 1st and 2nd of Feb., 1968 at McGregor Memorial Aud., W.S.U. Invited speakers include John O. Killens, Lerone Bennett, Muhammad Ali, Dick Gregory.

BLACK ARTS ALLIANCE

The black arts alliance is not a structured organization, but is intended to promote black literature by serving as a clearing house of information on production, distribution, and communication. Each function will be helped by the other two, as, production will be encouraged as means of distribution and communication are discovered and made known. Writers, editors, publishers, booksellers, and anyone interested in creating a viable literature is invited to make his wants known and his information available.

Black Arts Alliance, c/o Dudley Randall, 12651 Old Mill Place, Det., Mich. 48238.

Mr. SOURWINE. I believe you testified that you had no connection with the Liberation News Service, isn't that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only as their material was sent to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I have here a part of the material from Liberation News Service which, as you say, appears to have been sent to you. This is an excerpt identified as an item by Bob Riche. I will ask you if you recall receiving that, and if you can tell us who it was that sent it to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was just sent from the media as one of their bulletins or releases.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think they sent it to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think so—I am pretty sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could have been. It looked like somebody had excerpted it. This is not in the formal form of the Liberation News Service precisely.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. They have got a service, a Liberation News Service. And they also lift items from special—these little underground papers, and sometimes they send out individual excerpts like this.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to call your attention to one thing here. This man Bob Riche, do you know him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. He makes it clear that he regards riots and looting as "insurrections against a nation at war." Do you go along with that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but looting, certain types of looting—but as far as insurrection, I think this is a matter of people expressing themselves because the regular legal channels have been closed, and they are frustrated. I think it is the only thing that they have got to express themselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask the chairman to order this into the record as Counsel's Exhibit 19.

(The document marked "Exhibit 19" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 19

The following item by Bob Riche is excerpted from: "Liberation News Service," 3 Thomas Circle NW., Washington, D.C.

... despite all the singing and clapping of hands, the anti-war struggle in this country has not even begun to get going yet. Not as a meaningful mass movement that means ----- to anybody. It hasn't. At the very moment when the cry of mass resistance has been raised, and could, one suspects, have a real chance for success, the movement may be in danger of losing all momentum. Why? Simply because it lacks the content for mass resistance—a content, paradoxically, that exists in plenitude; in fact, it's been exploding right in our faces for the past five years, but so far up to the present moment has been completely ignored.

Well, where does it exist? Obviously, it has to exist in the radical and resistant power of the black revolution. And, yes, the black revolution—which is the only movement in this country that scares anybody—is about as close to the essentially white middle class anti-war movement as Rapp Brown is to Ellsworth Bunker, and that's what's wrong with the white middle class anti-war movement; why, in fact, it has no impetus; it has no blacks; it has no -----

Oh, Lordy! One can hear the hue and cry. "Defamer! Nasty! Hitter below the belt! It's not that we don't welcome black participation; but the blacks refuse to come into the peace movement. We urge them. They promise, but don't show up. Their interests are narrow. They won't participate."

Yeah, sure. Now dig it, Carlyle. Them niggers in the streets been doing more all along to stop the war than the whole white middle class anti-war movement put together. They are the anti-war movement in this country. What you may have been seeing as riots and looting have been insurrections against a nation at war, and if you don't think that lays a restraining hand on the arm that aims the gun, forget it. Or better, consider: What combination of peace struggle actions in this country has accomplished so much for peace as was accomplished in one day of black insurrection last summer:

1) pointing up the hypocrisy, of Johnson's pious ---- about America the custodian of democracy world-wide—

3) most importantly, threatening the government with actual internal guerrilla opposition which ultimately—and one suspects sooner, rather than later—could require at home the very same garrisons now busy "pacifying" the populace of Vietnam. (Witness the numbers of paratroops, National Guard, State cops, etc., in one city, Detroit, last summer.)

In all honesty, does anyone doubt that the thrust of the black revolt in this country has a devastating anti-war content; that the seditious reality of the black revolt does more to force Johnson to end the war than all other actions combined—protestant and/or resistant—of the white middle class peace movement?

The fact is, it is not the blacks who have been avoiding the peace movement; it is the white middle class anti-war effort that has been unwilling or unable to see—and to join with—an opposition which has the muscle one used to look for in the working class (probably because the black population is today's working class in America), and which is the only kind of opposition that can be effective against arrogant, anti-democratic regimes such as the one in Washington today.

The point is being made here that the center of the peace movement, in fact, lies within the black revolution, and that the "traditional" middle class peace movement has as its obligation to link up with it.

Yeah, but goshamight and leaping lizards, they won't let us work with them. You know, Black Power. Eek! Black separatists. They won't cooperate with whites.

Yeah, so how come Stokely is the featured guest at Castro's forest conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity? Is Castro a spade? Rapp Brown addresses a peace meeting—a 90 percent fay audience—in the East Village. Floyd McKissick is indefatigable in his appearances on white television. These are the leaders, right? The ones who hate whites. Yeah. They

may hate whites, but not as much as they hate -----, you can bet on it. And this country, from Lyndon Johnson on down to too much of the white anti-war movement is -----

The burden, -----, is upon us--us whiteys. They, the blacks, got the real resistance going against the machine. We're sitting around saying they won't help us struggle in this country. There are a lot of additional virtues to that, too, not the least of which is it gets a lot of the ----- out of our systems.

Does anyone really think they don't want us? Is that what they say? Or is that what Huntley-Brinkley say that they say? Why do we invite Rapp Brown "downtown" and go to hear him speak if we don't listen to what he says to us? What he says is, the blacks got plenty of reason to oppose the war. Even more reason than whites. For one thing, all them spades are getting shot up over there. So come on all you ----- artists, we don't want you marrying our sisters (heh, heh) but we don't mind cooperating with you to stop the war.

They've been saying this for five years! Malcolm said it so loud and clear he got burned. Because if a certain kind of militant unity ever really was organized it could be devastating to the war machine.

To this same point, there's been exactly one peace slogan since the beginning of the movement that's in everybody's mind: "Hell, no, we won't go!"—first enunciated by Stokely. And there's another cat who probably has more worshippers among black kids than any other man in America, Muhammad Ali, and he says to the draft board: "I got nuthin against those people over there." And he'll go to jail, if necessary, rather than join the Army. But of course, every ----- artist knows that the Nee-groes aren't interested in the peace movement.

If there's one reason why the blacks have avoided the white middle class so-called peace movement in this country it's probably because they don't trust it; don't really believe that Whitey is as serious as they are about opposing the Johnson war machine government. . . .

Nobody, in fact, in the Democratic or Republican Parties will withdraw from Vietnam, just as nobody in either party will support self-determination for black communities, and U.S. harmony over the third world and imperialism the world over, or abolish the draft.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ted Poston at The New York Post?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give him an interview, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a photocopy of an article from The New York Post carrying Ted Poston's by-line and ask you if you have seen it, if that is an interview that you gave him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, that is an excerpt from it, but it is not the full interview.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not the full interview?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a statement that you sent him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it his story or something you told him, or what?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was his story of his interview of me. But it is just an excerpt of what the interview was.

Mr. SOURWINE. He saw you in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. He saw you in New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. That was an interview in New York after I came back.

Mr. SOURWINE. That news story carries the heading "Ex-RAM Chief in China Seeks to Return to the United States."

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, this is another one. I understand what you mean now.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think we are talking with two different news stories.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Because I was interviewed by him since I was back.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking about a very recent interview?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what I have showed you is not a very recent interview?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was sent to him.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a statement you sent him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is what I thought it purported to be?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this may go in the record. That is Counsel's Exhibit 20.

(The document marked "Exhibit 20" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 20

[From the New York Post]

Ex-RAM Chief, in China, Seeks to Return to U.S.

(By Ted Poston)

Robert F. Williams, self-styled chairman-in-exile of the all-Negro Revolutionary Action Movement, is trying to return here from Peking to face trial on kidnaping charges in Monroe, N.C., The New York Post learned today.

Williams, an ousted former president of the Monroe NAACP, fled to Cuba with his family in 1961 after being accused of kidnaping a white couple and holding them prisoners for three hours during a racial clash in the North Carolina town.

From Cuba, he operated a clandestine radio station called Radio Free Dixie beamed to the U.S. South, and circularized American Negroes with copies of a propaganda sheet, The Crusader Newsletter, which urged armed insurrection in the ghettos and "eye-for-an-eye" retaliation.

Attorney Conrad J. Lynn of 401 Broadway confirmed Williams' efforts to make a defiant return to the U.S. and said the fugitive had enlisted his aid as early as last Spring in the effort.

IN TOUCH WITH D.C.

"He had already been in touch with the State Dept," Lynn said, "and I followed through by pointing out to officials there that it is the duty of the State Dept. to assist any U.S. citizen stranded in a foreign country no matter what his status or beliefs.

"The State Dept. declined to answer my petition in writing," the lawyer said, "but they called me on the phone and told me it was not in the national interest for them to aid Robert F. Williams to return to the U.S."

Lynn said he heard nothing more directly from the State Dept., but an FBI agent came to his office Thursday to question him about Williams' plans. Williams has also written court officials in Monroe informing them of his intention to return, submit to arrest and refute the kidnaping charges which led to his flight.

"He asked the courts there if he would be permitted bail while awaiting trial," Lynn said, "but the court informed me that they could not make any advance commitment. I was told he even might be held in no bail, or could possibly be released without bail at all."

THE LETTER

In his letter to the County Clerk of Union County, N.C., Williams (wrote):

"I understand from press reports that I am under indictment in Union County. Inasmuch as I contemplate an early return to Monroe, will you please be so kind as to inform me specifically of the charges and statutes under which I am

indicted? Also please inform me as to what amount of bail bond your office will require."

Williams informed his followers and other Negroes of his plans last week in a special issue of The Crusader Newsletter mailed from Peking in envelopes stamped:

The Black Man Fights in
VIETNAM
for the white man's right to
LYNCH HIM

In a 10-page, tiny-type pamphlet headed "Why I Propose to Return to Racist America," he traced the history of his case and called upon his followers, including the members of the Revolutionary Action Movement to organize committees and cadres and send 10,000 persons to Monroe on his return.

HIS PLAN

"My only crime in racist America was to struggle for equality, justice, and human dignity," he wrote. "The true criminals are the satanic despoilers who oppose human dignity. . . . I propose to return, if possible, with the support of an international movement that will force racist and imperialist America to display her true colors under the spotlight of world opinion."

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show you this letter. I will offer it for the record as Counsel's Exhibit 21.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 21" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 21

CHINA WELFARE INSTITUTE,
Shanghai, April 18, 1968.

DEAR MABEL AND ROBERT: The tapping of my typewriter is almost drowned out by the singing and shouting of slogans by the demonstrators who are streaming past my house on the way to the Cultural Square for a mass rally in support of the brilliant Statement by Chairman Mao in support for the Afro-American People's Struggle two days ago. In fact, much the same thing happened yesterday save that a steady downpour of rain muted the songs and slogans somewhat. Doubtless Vicki will be writing you on these developments, the mass rally at the Foreign Language Institute yesterday morning at which she spoke, and other events in which she is involved.

Many, many thanks for the latest issue of "THE CRUSADER" which came last week. Also I am somewhat tardy in getting this postage stamp contribution into your hands so that "THE CRUSADER" will continue to go to the friends whose names I sent to you.

The blatant murder of Martin Luther King who really was "their man" cannot but make one ponder seriously over your plans to return to the States. The Afro-American struggle is indeed rising to new heights when the wisest and firmest leadership is needed. You indeed are qualified to make a significant contribution. Yet, one cannot but ask "Is this the moment to expose yourself?" Even as I express this thought I am sure you are weighing all of the factors concerned so that your contribution may carry the Black Revolution in the U.S.A. ever nearer its goal—and so also contribute to the liberation of all oppressed peoples in the world.

Revolutionary Greetings!

Sincerely yours,

TALITHA GERLACH.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Talitha Gerlach?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, just casually.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, she is not a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a letter addressed to you by Talitha Gerlach purporting to be signed by her under date of April 18, 1968. It is addressed "Dear Mabel and Robert." Do you remember the letter?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because my wife was closer to her than I was. I just vaguely know her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she a friend of your wife?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know Talitha Gerlach as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, she is not a Communist. She was a missionary. She worked with the YWCA in China. And she is not known as a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go back on the record now.

What have been your dealings with Clyde McLean of Station WBTV, Charlotte?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, only the fact that he came to Cuba with State Department permission to make a film called "Robert Williams in China," he and a television crew of three or more people. And also after I went to China he was the one who was responsible for selling the film on China to CBS. And that is the only connection that we have. In fact, I selected him because he was able to get permission from the United States Treasury Department to import the film.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is how it was managed, through him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Through him. Because he was also in North Carolina, a popular radio man there, and also a conservative. So I felt it would be helpful to have him.

Mr. SOURWINE. He did make a film of you in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was used not only on his own station but on a network, was it not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because I was away then. But I know they used it on his station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any payment out of that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Apropos the mention of Clyde McLean, do you have any objection if that letter goes in the record at this point?

Mr. CRAIG. No objection.

Mr. SOURWINE. I offer it as Exhibit Number 10.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 10" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 10

JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING Co.,
Charlotte, N.C., July 30, 1969.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
East Africa.

DEAR ROBERT: The films arrived in good condition and with no problems through Customs.

I was surprised to see that it is 35 millimeter instead of our customary 16 millimeter. We are not equipped here at the television station to project 35 millimeter stock, so I am trying to arrange a viewing date at one of the theatre houses here in Charlotte.

As soon as we are able to see and evaluate the films, I will be back in touch with you.

Best regards,

CLYDE McLEAN.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show you this telegram.

I will offer it for the record as Counsel's Exhibit Number 16.

And when you have looked at it I have a question.
(The document marked "Exhibit 16" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 16

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., June 16, 1968.

ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS,
Deluxe Inn, Dares Salaam:

Prepared to fly Tanzania if you agree collaborate with me your autobiography for Bantom Books and Knopf must be exclusive network television interview also possible.

COHEN.

Proposal accepted, must arrive within two weeks. Call Clyde McLain WBTV Charlotte possible Commission for interview Bring McBird recording.

WILLIAMS,
Deluxe Inn.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the answer may be fairly obvious from what you have already said, but I want you to answer. When you got a letter from Mr. Cohen proposing collaboration on your autobiography, why did you tell him to call Clyde McLean at WBTV?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wanted him to call Clyde McLean to try to find out from him about my case in North Carolina, if they had any new facts, because he is also a newsman.

Mr. SOURWINE. McLean, then, was not acting for you in the matter of selling your autobiography, or agreeing to write it, or anything of that sort?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he did not have anything to do with it, but I wanted him to call McLean to ask him about the developments, if there were any new developments on my case in North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that mean that you had agreed to collaborate with Cohen, and he was doing research for the autobiography already.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had agreed to work with him, but also I was considering—I had also indicated to McLean that I would return to the United States when it was possible, and I also asked him to intervene in North Carolina if he could with the officials there.

Mr. SOURWINE. What contact have you had with the Pacifica radio stations? Do you know what I mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the same as WBAI?

Mr. SOURWINE. WBIA is one of them. KPFA Berkeley is another.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they also used Radio Free Dixie.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Pacifica Station, did they rebroadcast your Radio Free Dixie recordings?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, some of them. I don't know how many.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to show a letter to you from KPFA, and then I have some questions to ask you.

I will offer this letter for the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit 17.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 17" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 17

KPFA.

Berkeley, Calif., August 19, 1963.

MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS,
Havana, Cuba.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: We are pleased to advise that KPFA will rebroadcast "Radio Free Dixie" at 2 p.m. to 3 p.m. on Thursday, September 5. This

program is a recording, made by our sister-station—WBAI-FM in New York City—of your broadcast on AM radio made in May.

KPFA is heard throughout most of northern California. If there should be any persons you would like us to notify in advance of the rebroadcast, please let us know.

Sincerely,

KAY GREAVES,

Volunteer, Public Affairs Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get in touch with the Public Affairs Department at KPFA? Was in through WBAI?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think so. But the idea was that I first offered this to the station. I did not know anybody there, so usually these people would be the ones to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought maybe you were already in touch with WBAI and went through them to the other Pacifica stations. Was that the way it went?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so. I do not remember exactly how that came about.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was trying to find out whether you wrote direct or whether you told your contact at WBAI to let the other Pacifica stations know about it. But you do not know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. What arrangements to re-broadcast your Radio Free Dixie recording was made by KPFA without prior arrangement with you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because I just gave them the tape. I do not know how they did it or what procedure they used, whether they used it all or how much they put out or how much they put it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. It did not clear with you at all?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not receive any payment for that either, I guess?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know one Mike Rouse, the news editor of the AP office in Charlotte, North Carolina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes—I did not know him personally, but I knew him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you furnish news items to him to go on the AP wire?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He had asked me to write some information or articles about China or life in China, and also to send him news releases which I had released that may have some interest in that area of North Carolina, since I came from there.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did so?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if he printed them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter addressed to you dated September 18 from Mr. Rouse. Does that refresh your memory in any way? Can you add anything to what you have told us?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. This man Dick Bayer that he mentions was a member of the Unitarian Church. I was a member of the Unitarian Church in North Carolina, and this man Dick Bayer was also a member. And this was how I heard about the Associated Press in

other places, because always I would send them information when I had it, even before I left the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask the Chairman to rule this may go in the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 6.

(The document marked "Exhibit 6" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 6

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS,
Charlotte, N.C., September 18, 1967.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Peking, China.

DEAR BOB: First, many thanks for the mail you've been sending us. Your doings continue to be followed with great interest here.

Our friend Dick Bayer has left The Associated Press and now is a reporter on the Norfolk (Va.) Ledger-Star. Perhaps you have heard from him.

Meanwhile, I've been opening mail with your return address, writing the resulting stories, then forwarding the mail to Dick. I assume you approve. You may wish, however, to address mail to Dick in Norfolk, but we hope you will continue to send it to us also.

I noted Prince Sihanouk's letter was addressed to you as president of the Revolutionary Action Movement. This was my first knowledge that you held that post, although I had seen your name connected with the organization.

If you feel it would be proper, I would very much appreciate your writing me to confirm that you are the RAM president. You could include any other details about the organization, or any other information which you feel would be of interest. Of course, I would like to know more about your proposal to return to the United States.

This would be for publication in a news story.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

MIKE ROUSE,
News Editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Stewart Fraser, the director of the International Center, George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, Tennessee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only through correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you an item of such correspondence. And when you have had a chance to look at it I have a question that it raises.

I will ask that this letter go in the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 7.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 7" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 7

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS,
Nashville, Tenn., December 5, 1967.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Peking, China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I have to hand your letter of November 17, regarding films for which many thanks. I would appreciate hearing of likely titles of films on China, particularly those on educational and cultural affairs, likewise, films on Educational matters on North Vietnam. Our center is concerned with educational developments throughout the world and has a special interest in Asian education, especially on China, Vietnam, and Korea.

Some months ago I sent to you surface mail copies of two of our recent publications, namely Chinese Communist Education: Records of the First Decade, Vanderbilt Press, and John Wiley & Sons; and Mao Tse-Tung's Quotations: The Red Guards' Handbook.* Our own edition of this work published

*Second copy sent Dec. 5, 1967.

at the Peabody International Center only a few months ago. Early in the new year, I will have further work in process to be published in London, entitled, *Education and Communism in China: An Anthology of Commentary and Analysis* and will have this sent to you when it is available.

I have not heard anything more of your own film and have written to the librarian of the University of North Carolina for further details. By the last correspondence it would seem that there has been a hold up due to customs, but of this I am not absolutely sure.

I wonder if I may inquire again of you as to what is the present climate of opinion and likelihood of an educator such as myself visiting China. I have professional interests in Chinese education and would welcome the opportunity of visiting Chinese schools and universities. Until a few years ago this would have been relatively easy as I was an Australian citizen. Now I have become an American citizen and when I was in Hong Kong this summer inquiring of the China Travel Service, it was apparent that Americans were not able to obtain tourist travel visas for entry to China. If the situation is more favorable now and if it would be possible for me to obtain a visa to visit educational facilities in China, I would appreciate receiving appropriate information.

Sincerely,

STEWART FRASER,

Director, International Center,

Professor of International and Comparative Education.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question I have to ask with respect to this letter, which I have offered for the record as Counsel's Exhibit Number 7, is, did you ever do anything to try to assist in arranging for Professor Fraser to go to China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because at that time they were not allowing any people to visit China. That was during the height of the cultural revolution. The only thing was that I had told the Chinese that he had asked and he wanted to come there, and maybe in the future when they started allowing people to come there that they should consider him as one of the persons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Prince Sihanouk?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I met him in Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any substantial connection or association with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only that he wrote me a letter once supporting the black people's struggle against racial discrimination in the United States. That was all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he make that letter public, or did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he just wrote it on his personal stationery, to let me know that he supported us and was in sympathy with us.

Mr. SOURWINE. That letter was made public, was it not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he make it public, or did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I made it public.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Dr. William E. Griffith, professor of political science at the Center for International Studies at MIT?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only he interviewed me in Tanzania about China, because he was also a professor, I think, in Asian studies.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you had no other connection with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did know Robert Gibson, I believe you stated that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you last see him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When I was in prison in England, he came to the prison to see me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see him in Cairo?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you sure?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I am sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a document which has been marked as Counsel's Exhibit 11 and ask that it go in the record at this point. I will ask you what you remember about it.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 11" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 11

Cairo, February 22, 1967.

I, the undersigned, editor of the literary property Negroes with Guns, and co-owner of that property with Robert F. Williams, do hereby turn over, transfer and relinquish any and all rights to that property to Robert F. Williams.

In addition, I wish to give my express approval for any revision and republication of the above-mentioned literary property, undertaken by Robert F. Williams.

MARC D. SCHLEIFER.

Witnessed by:

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was done in Cairo, because this fellow Munsell who also had assisted in taking the manuscript to Marzani was living in Cairo, and Richard Gibson went to him to get that statement. But I was not there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record at this point for a moment. (Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

What has been your acquaintanceship or connection with Stokely Carmichael?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I only met him briefly once, I think. But as far as any acquaintance, I have not had any direct acquaintance with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no recent association with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know LeRoi Jones?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your connection with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did an article once for publication. And he was working with Village Voice, I think, he was some type of editor for the Village Voice, and I did an article once for that that he asked me to include. That was in New York.

And then I met him once in Cuba when 18 of us were invited—I think it was in 1960.

But other than the correspondence and the article, I have not had any contact with him. But I have seen him recently, just briefly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter to you purporting to be from him of December 1962. That is from LeRoi Jones, is it not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will offer it for the record at this point as Counsel's Exhibit 32.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 32" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 32

DECEMBER 18, 1962.

DEAR ROB: I sent some records sometime ago, direct, though events of the last few months have shown me how dumb that was. Anyway, I've now sent them to the forwarding address Marc gave me, so you should get them soon. I get review records from time to time so I'll send all I can. When your letter reached me I didn't have any review copies so I sent some of my own records, and I think one review copy. I sent: Bags & Trane (milt Jackson & John Contrane); Clyde McPhatter, Billie & Dode Pierce, which is new Orleans trad.; yng trumpeter, Richard Williams; Clark Terry; Dizzy Reece; Rocky Boyd, yng saxophonist w/Kenny Dorham. 7 records in all to start, will get more there as soon as.

Yr book is out. I'm supposed to review it for the Village Voice if they don't chicken out. Called: Negroes With Guns. I've already read it. Marc did a good job. You probably didn't get a copy for the same reason you didn't get records. These cats are always tampering with my mail, slicing envelopes and such. Letters from you and Mae are always of special interest in this free open society.

I manage to pick up RFD, it seems, when the wind is right. I wondered why I hadn't heard from you about the CRC report; that too went out some months ago! Anyway I'll get another copy and send it thru the same source. Book ought to cause a stir if Marzani can get some distribution. I know all the boots downtown here are after a copy and can't get one. Book store I know only got sent 3 copies and had 20 orders, so I don't know what the score is. I'll drop him a letter and ask for copies to be sent.

Hope it is warmer there than it is in this town. Climatically and socio-politically. In fact I am sure it has to be. You've heard by now I assume the events that have taken place w/ On Guard, Monroe Defense Comm., & c. Also, that Dick had to cut out from here muy pronto. Ditto Julian. They really know how to shred the opposition, but they have to realize they're not stopping anything.

Have you ever seen The Minority Of One. I'll be doing some work for them now. Really a fine publication, with large circulation. Sponsors like Gen. Hester, Pauling, Schweitzer, Russell always has articles. Now they want to add special literary-political section by younger men. I'll send it along. See how you like it. Meanwhile let me know when you get the records, then by that time I'll probably be able to send more. My best to everyone, and especially your family. Take care.

Best,

LeRoI.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with a planned rally for Malcolm X scheduled for the Rockland Palace auditorium on May 26, 1965?

Mr. WILLIAMS. But these messages got out too late. And when I found out about it—

Mr. SOURWINE. When you say these messages got out too late, you mean notice to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Notice to me, and in order to get any messages back there in time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. You had tried to send them, but they didn't get there in time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will ask that this copy of the telegram go in the record at this point. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 33.

(The telegram "Exhibit 33" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 33

MAY 14, 1965.

Afroamericans holding mass memorial rally in tribute to assassinated leader, Malcolm X. Rally to be held in New York City with view toward reconstituting Afroamerican unity organization based on a united front in the struggle for

human rights for black Americans. Rally is to also stress a need for more militant action and a new direction for the U.S. freedom struggle. Participating groups are anti-imperialist as well as anti-racist. They advocate a policy of united action on the part of Afroamericans in conjunction with the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa against U.S. racism and imperialism.

This memorial rally in honor of martyred Malcolm X will be held at Rockland Palace Auditorium, Sunday May 26, 1965. The chairman of the organizing committee, on behalf of participating groups, requests a cabled message from Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China. If Chairman Mao deems it proper to send such a message to the people and Harlem and oppressed Afroamericans throughout the United States, which is certain to create much good will between the Chinese and Afroamerican peoples, the following address should be used:

Sylvester Leaks, Chairman,
Malcolm X Memorial Rally,
410 West 110th Street,
New York, N.Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter, or rather a news release, relating to South Vietnam students and news organizations. And my question is, how did you come to receive a message of solidarity from two South Vietnamese functionaries in February of 1964?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This came through the Vietnamese news agency. With their mission they have a news agency. And this was one of the bulletins.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think they were just trying to capitalize on your name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. You see, they sent one to the NAACP too, Roy Wilkins. And the idea was, they sent it to Roy Wilkins, because of the fact that they considered me a representative of the black people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good.

I ask that this message go in the record at this point. The news release. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 34.

(The news release marked "Exhibit 34" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 34

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.—FEBRUARY 26, 1964

South Vietnam Students and Youth Organizations Send Message of Solidarity

Havana, Cuba.—The following cabled message of solidarity and support to the Afroamerican struggle was received by Robert F. Williams in Havana. The same cable was also transmitted to Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP and the Student Peace Union in New York City, USA to be conveyed to the Afroamerican people.

The message: Very indignant at barbarous racial discrimination policy against negroes by U.S. Government and resolutely supporting struggle of thousands of U.S. students, parents and teachers holding strikes, demonstrations against racial discrimination policy at New York schools. (We are) valiantly struggling against savage aggressive war waged by U.S. Government and (their) henchmen. (Struggling) for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality in South Vietnam (and) toward peaceful reunification, we warmly welcome resolute, persevering struggle of Negro students, young people, freedom, humanitarian and justice loving people in the USA and (we) demand racial discrimination policy (be) disbanded and rights to equality guaranteed. Pledging close solidarity with you in struggle against racial discrimination policy and war provocation of U.S. Government and (we are) convinced your struggle for freedom (and) justice certainly (will) be victorious.

SOUTH VIETNAM February 5, 1964.

(S) TRAN BUU KIEM,
Chairman,
South Vietnam Liberation Students Union.

(S) TRAN BACH DANG,
Chairman,
South Vietnam Liberation Youth Federation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Charles Kenyatta?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know him personally. I think he is a nationalist leader in New York. I only know him through correspondence and literature, reading about him.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you a letter purporting to be to you from Charles X. Kenyatta and ask, if that refreshes your memory, if there is any more you can tell us?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I remember the correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because I do not know him personally. I never met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. I offer this for the record. It is Counsel's Exhibit Number 35.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 35" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 35

New York, N.Y.

MR. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,
Peking, China.

DEAR BROTHER ROBERT: I received your letter and, as always, was anxious to hear from my brother.

Putting it to you on the line—I think you should come home and set up your headquarters in New York. As you know, you will be in the heart of the jungle. As of now, there is no strong competition. The people all over the country are starving for leadership. Everyone else you once knew—the Stokeleys, the Rapp Browns, and others, are plugged in, and the masses of people are confused and don't know who to go to for guidance. Percy Sutton and others are in the master's house—they are not concerned about the field "Niggers".

As you probably heard, Leroy Jones just received two and a half to three years sentence. If times were ever right, they are right now for you to come home in 1968.

I have been doing everything in my power to keep your name on the minds of the people. Everywhere I speak I mention your name. There is a rumor going around that some lady has a tape of you, but I have not been able to communicate with her. If there is any way possible that you can get a tape to me it would be very beneficial because the people I speak to are beginning to ask more and more about you.

So I will look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours in Brotherhood,

CHARLES X. KENYATTA.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Jo Anne Salas?

Mr. WILLIAMS. She is a Cuban. She lives in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your connection with her?

Mr. WILLIAMS. She helped me on my program. She was an announcer for the program.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have a letter here, a photocopy of a letter addressed to Mr. E. E. Wilson of Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico, and signed Miss Jo Anne Salas, musical hostess. Was she musical hostess for your Radio Free Dixie program or for Radio Havana, or for who, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. For my program.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was for your program?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this go in the record as Counsel's Exhibit Number 30?

(The letter marked "Exhibit 30" follows:)

HOTEL CAPRI,
Havana, Cuba, May 28, 1963.

MR. E. E. WILSON,
Ramey Air Force Base, Puerto Rico.

DEAR SIR: Your inquiry of May 4, 1963 was received. Our program, Radio Free Dixie, is broadcast three times weekly, Fridays from 11 p.m. 'til 12, Sundays from 12 midnight 'til 1 a.m. and Tuesdays from 12 'til 1 a.m. 690 on the dial, long wave Eastern Standard Time.

Our programs are written and directed by Robert F. Williams, Afroamerican Freedom Fighter who was driven from his home in Monroe, North Carolina with his wife and two children during a race riot in which the Ku Klux Klan and the local police officials attacked non-violent protesters on the Main Street of town. Robert was granted asylum in Cuba.

His desire to continue his fight for the Freedom of his people, especially in the South of the USA, gave him the idea for Radio Free Dixie. He petitioned the Radio Station Radio Progreso and asked for time for a program as a contribution to the struggle. This time was granted.

Robert also continued to publish his newsletter, "The Crusader," which was began in Monroe, N.C. I enclose a copy and am adding your name to the mailing list for future copies.

Very truly yours,

JO ANNE SALAS,
Musical Hostess.

MR. SOURWINE. I will show you another exhibit that is Counsel's Exhibit 31, and I will ask that it go in the record at this point.
(The document marked "Exhibit 31" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 31

Mrs. Audley Moore—Founder-President of Universal association of Ethiopian Women, Inc. 714 N. 34th Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Mr. Serje Khing—137 W. 96th St., New York, N.Y.
Ofuntola Oserjeman Khing-Adefunmi—President—The Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation.
Abdul Rahmam—First Deputy Prime Minister—The Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation.
Audley Moore-Ijaluwa—Second Deputy Prime Minister—The Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation.
Loretta Langley—Acting Minister of Finance—The Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation.
Gizenga Latunji—(also known as Serje Khing)—Oluwa (Chief) of the African Nationalist Independence-Partition Party.
Yoruba Temple—Training school for Americans of African descent—28 West 116th St., New Oyo, New York, (Harlem).
(Nana) Oserjeman Adefunmi Babaloshia (Chief Priest) Yoruba Temple.
Nasser Ahmad Shabazz—Al Sultan—National chairman—African Descendants Nationalist Independence Partition Party.

Summary of AD NIP Party Policies as of Date

The creation of an african descendant's peoples republic, is the only intelligent solution to the racial problem between the European (white) and African descendants (blacks) in the U.S.A. To make the South a copy of the North by integration will settle nothing.

No law of nature requires us to remain subjects of the United States. The laws of Nature and Political Science requires each people to govern themselves. There is enough land in America for each of the races to live as independent nations. The African Descendants are a Majority in the South, so that must become our independent country. The United States must be partitioned. The african descendants nationalist independence partition party, says the fight for integration is a waste of time. The party has begun the fight for African Descendants Independence by 1973.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I would like to have you, if you can, beginning with the name of Mrs. Audley Moore, at the top, identify any of those persons you can remember and tell us what you know about them, just enough to identify them, who they are with, and who they work for, and anything of that sort, if you remember.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know any of these people. Mrs. Moore is an old woman who worked for 50 years in the black movement, the Black Liberation. She was known as a motherly type of woman. They called her "Queen Mother" in New York. And she was highly respected among all of the black nationalists all over the country. But she was with an organization of Ethiopian women. And she is a Black Nationalist. But these are names—adopted names from African, Arabic—

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they people of significance, such as the first one, or are they people of lesser significance, of no particular importance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because I did not know these people before I left the country, and a lot of these people have changed their names to African names.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, while you were in China did you receive any money from the Chinese Government or through Chinese official sources?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only when I traveled, when I went to visit—actually when I went to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in China what did you do for money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Chinese Government supported me.

Mr. SOURWINE. But they never gave you any money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They gave me Chinese money to live on in China. They gave me an allowance.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does it take in Chinese money to live on?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know what it takes to live, but they gave me more money than Mao Tse-tung earned, and they gave me more money than Chou En-lai.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much does Mao Tse-tung earn, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He did earn 400 Yen a month. And they gave me 600.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does Chou En-lai make?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Four hundred.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same as Mao?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get your money? Was that through the China Peace Committee, or did you get money from them only when you were out of China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, no. I got it—I lived in the compound there.

Mr. SOURWINE. From whom did you receive money while you were in Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not receive anything from anybody in Tanzania, because I had money when I went there.

Oh, I received \$1,200 when I was in Tanzania from Bantam Books.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that royalties on your book "Negroes With Guns"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, that was my autobiography.

Mr. SOURWINE. The autobiography. From whom have you received money since you have been back in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I sold film to WBTV, the same film that I mentioned.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the film of you in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, of the Ninth Party Congress. And I got, I think, \$750 for that film. And also I have been given contributions, people have sent me money to live on, to support me. And for speaking.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you disburse money in any substantial amounts while you were in Tanzania in 1968, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I sent my aunt, who is an old woman and who lives in North Carolina, who is unable to work, I sent her money. And also a woman there I did not know, a woman—another old woman in North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not mean to pry into your charities, sir. I was asking about any substantial sums that you might have sent for the support of an organization, for instance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you send any money out of the country to go to banks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Out of Tanzania?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had money in Tanzania in the bank.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not send any to Canada?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I sent some money, but this was my personal money.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is your Canada reserve, that is your personal fund?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Also I had an account in Canada since I left the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had at least two accounts in Canada, wouldn't you say?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. One was not in my name, I do not think.

Mr. SOURWINE. Maybe it is in your name, but with the address of Mrs. Olson.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was in the Crusader's name.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the Olson account, at the address of Mrs. Olson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so. Because it was for The Crusader, people who had sent money for The Crusader. And it was deposited there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which was the account that you sent money to from Tanzania? Was that the Montreal account, or the Olson account, or some other account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was my account.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your own account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has anybody deposited money for you in any of your Canadian bank accounts since you have been out of China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know, because any lawyer that I had there when I sold the film in China that I never collected for, he said that the money had been—the film was sold way back, I think, in 1963.

And I understand—recently he says the money was deposited for me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He said it was deposited, I suppose in Canada. That is where he lives, and that is where it was sold.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who is "he"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mergler, a man named Bernie Mergler who is an attorney in Montreal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you spell that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. M-e-r-g-l-e-r.

Mr. SOURWINE. He still represents you in Canada?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He represents me for that, because he was supposed to have taken care of the film. But I never received the money. So I understand he either deposited—he has got it deposited and he is going to send it to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in China you received a regular allowance from the China Peace Committee, did you not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And while you were in China did you collect any money for the SNCC?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I collected money for many organizations. And I collected this money from foreigners who lived in China, because foreigners also earned some dollars, some were paid in dollars, and they were saying that they did not know what to do with their money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you have one special drive for money for the SNCC that Anna Louise Strong helped you with?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I asked her to help me raise some money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that reasonably successful?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did raise some money for them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you have bank accounts at the time you left the United States in 1961?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In Monroe, North Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you have bank accounts during the period you were in Cuba, 1961 to 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, after I left Monroe I had a bank account there for a while, but it was withdrawn from Monroe, and it was placed in Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where in Canada? That was Montreal?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In Montreal.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Cuba, was that the only bank account you had?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not have one in Vancouver?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not have one in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And when you were in Tanzania you had a bank account there, you said?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a bank account anywhere else in Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because all the banks had been nationalized.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you still maintain an account in the National Bank of Commerce in Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because that was the money that I had deposited there to come home on, and I brought the money.

Mr. SOURWINE. What bank accounts did you have while you were in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only the same account in Montreal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just the one?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that you had two bank accounts in Canada?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I also had one in Tanzania, because when I went to Tanzania—I have been there twice. The first time I opened up a bank account so that people could send me money to come home on and so that Bantam Books would have some place to pay my royalties.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you have said that you had bank accounts, at one time two bank accounts in Canada. And then you said one of those was a Crusader bank account.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are saying that you did not have two bank accounts in Canada in your own name, or in yours and your wife's name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not as I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. And have you opened any new bank accounts since you have been back in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I opened one in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the only one?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an account in a bank in Denmark?

I want to point out that there is an entry in your diary July 27 of 1969 which says, "No word from Denmark bank yet." That may not have referred to a bank account.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But also it was due to the fact that people were sending me different currencies from different countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you were saying, you were trying to set up an account somewhere where you could receive foreign currencies?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, some of the foreign currencies that I was trying to get dollars for.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have an account in Denmark that you were trying to transfer this currency through?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were just dealing with the Denmark bank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an account in the Lombard Bank in London?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did your wife have an account there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know whether she had an account there or not, but I did not have an account there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about a bank draft for \$6,000 drawn on the Lombard Bank, Limited, account of Miss Mabel Robinson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know anything about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. June 25, 1969?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who Miss Mabel Robinson would be?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. My wife's name is Mabel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was her maiden name Robinson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could be her, then, couldn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you have no knowledge of the draft, you did not receive the money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I did not receive the money. But the fact was that my wife and children came home before me from Africa. They had to pay their way. It cost about \$4,000, over \$4,000 for us to come home.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had they left in June of 1969?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know—no.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not mean to badger you about it, but \$6,000 is a lot of money.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not when you are trying to come home with a family, it is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyway, you do not know about this \$6,000?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary notation of June 10, 1969 carried the statement, "Letter came with information of Lombard Bank in London." Do you remember anything about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The only thing about it was, I know they were trying to get home, and they had to have the money, because they had to pay in dollars, they could not pay in Yen to come home.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a bank account in Germany?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In July of 1969 you corresponded with a man named Hendrick Klud in West Germany about the establishment of a bank account. What happened?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This man had made a translation of "Negroes with Guns." and he was trying to sell it. And I was still in China. And he wanted to know, if he get it published, if the book was published in Germany, what would I do about the royalties. And I told him to establish a bank account in Germany for me if he got the book published.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he never did?

Mr. WILLIAMS. If he did I did not hear from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. If he had established a bank account for you I guess you would have known it.

Do you have any money in a Swiss bank or Swiss banks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any interest in Account Number 31001801W with the Union Bank of Switzerland?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That bank is in the Place St. Francois Premier, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know anything about that bank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not know a thing about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who does own that account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you maintain a bank account under your name in the Bank of Montreal, 1211 King Street, West Toronto, Ontario?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, in Montreal, but I do not know where.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have another account at the Montreal Bank in Main and Hastings Street Branch, in British Columbia under the name of Frank B. Jones?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know a Frank B. Jones?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, Frank B. Jones is a Canadian contractor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Living in Vancouver?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But the bank account there is not yours?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you send money to Frank B. Jones?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The idea was that I tried to get to Canada, into Canada. He was a contractor. And he said that the Canadian Government would not let anybody come in there without money, and he was trying to help me get in there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your wife maintains a separate account in Detroit, does she not, separate from your account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not have one in Detroit, that is hers. That is my wife's account.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you said you had opened one, I am sorry.

Do you know a man named Jolliot?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I do not remember him. Where does he live?

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he connected with the Guinean embassy in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is the man who is named in the receipt that Max Stanford signed that you have for \$1,500.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary for April 7, 1966—where were you then, in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was in Cuba then.

Mr. SOURWINE. —contained the item: "Chinese let us have \$300 to pay debts and live on." Was that the first money you received from the Chinese People's Republic?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was when we were getting ready to go to China.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was in preparation for your departure?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was, then, the first money you got from them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary for April 14, 1966 indicates Milton Henry was preparing to leave the following morning to return to Michigan, and indicates that you went over things with him and sent \$2,000 with him. Do you remember that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. It was probably \$200.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think it was \$200?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It more than likely would have been \$200.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be more in line, if the week before you needed \$300, you would not have had \$2,000 at that time, I guess.

Now, on or about April 14, 1966 you made a withdrawal of money from your bank account in the amount of \$2,400 for one Vilton. Can you tell us who he was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When was that date again?

Mr. SOURWINE. April 14, 1966. That is the same day your diary spoke of sending \$2,000 with Milton Henry. I wonder if the Vilton did not really mean Milton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Because I didn't have a bank account in Havana, I never had a bank account there.

Mr. SOURWINE. I did not say it was Havana.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I couldn't make a withdrawal any place else.

Mr. SOURWINE. The only bank account you had in April 1966 was in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I didn't have one in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I thought.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know what that might have been referring to.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you had a bank account in Canada at the time, didn't you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But I didn't make any withdrawals from it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't give Milton a check for \$2,000 or \$2,400 or any similar amount?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you do not know of any Vilton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you another exhibit that is Counsel's Exhibit 36 and I will ask that it go in the record at this point.

(The letter marked "Exhibit 36" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 36

MIRAMAR, MARIANAO,
La Habana, Cuba, May 28, 1966.

DEAR FRANK: I hope things are going well with you at this time. It seems that the world situation is going from bad to worse and there is very little the individual can do. Have you received my letter yet? That is the one with a Canadian letter to me enclosed in it? I hope so.

This is just a note because Vick is leaving and I wanted to get this to him in time. We really hate to see him and Trinny go, but I am sure that it is necessary.

Will you please take this \$2,000,000 I am enclosing in this letter and do the same as before with it. I certainly would appreciate your aid in this matter and hope that I can do you a good turn in the future.

The best of luck to you and your family.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you what purports to be a carbon copy of a letter from you to a "Dear Frank," which appears to be some kind of a joke. Can you tell us anything about it? If it is not a joke, I apologize.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is Frank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know who that referred to. There was a man in the Cuban police who used to be called Frank, and sometimes people would write notes, all kinds of notes and jokes. So I do not know exactly what that was. I received telegrams from Miami, and those telegrams would say, look for us tomorrow night, the same place on the beach. And this was actually somebody who was trying to mess me up with the Cubans.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this a letter that you wrote?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is a carbon copy of a letter that has your address, your typed signature, and it was in your possession. Do you think somebody planted it there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, a lot of things were planted there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no memory of this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell me who is referred to in this letter by Vic?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anybody named Trinny?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anybody who left Cuba, left Havana, either one, around the end of May 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But a lot of people were leaving at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. This letter, then, is a mystery to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The amount could not have been \$2,000 instead of \$2 million? Just from what you said, \$2,000 was about as much as \$2 million to you at that time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But the thing about it is that people used to do that in Cuba all the time, especially people who were a little upset over conditions, plus the fact that people would do this to see what the reaction would be in the government.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is an interesting thing that this letter is dated May 28. Under date of May 30 did you send \$2,000 to Canada for deposit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I do not remember sending \$2,000 to Canada. It was a violation of law in Cuba—a lot of those things went on, but in Cuba they did not allow you to send the money out of Cuba. It was impossible unless it was through the Cuban Government. And no person would dare take money out of Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. You could have given Milton a check and Milton could have taken it out of Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he could have mailed it after he got out of Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That didn't happen?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Cuba did you disburse funds to RAM, the Revolutionary Action Movement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No—only one or two times I sent them \$150 one time, and \$200.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you disburse funds for the North Carolina SNCC?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was only a contribution.

Mr. SOURWINE. To the Atlanta SNCC?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I gave them a contribution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make other contributions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they substantial or small contributions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Small contributions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the balance on your bank Account Number 3274 at the branch at 1211 King Street, West Toronto, reached a high point of \$13,535 in 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because I did not keep up with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that on the 21st of November last year that account had a balance of \$13,690?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because it might have been put in by my lawyer from the film.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just did not know about it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You just do not get statements from that bank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not, because it was impossible to get a statement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Unless somebody checked it out you got over \$13,000 in that bank now.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are you sure of that?

Mr. SOURWINE. You had \$13,690 and 94 cents on deposit on the 21st of November 1969.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Was that \$1,300 or \$13,000?

Mr. SOURWINE. \$13,690 and 94 cents.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is a fiction.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is official?

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not an official of the bank.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not want the bank to back down.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is information provided to us.

Your account at the Main and Hastings branch in Vancouver, the account that reportedly was yours under the name of Jones, had a balance of \$7,150 in it during 1966.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Where did those figures come from?

Mr. SOURWINE. On February 3, 1966, our information is that you sent \$5,000 to Vancouver for deposit. Would you say no?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. What happened, this man was a contractor, and that was his bank, and he was trying to help me get it through, and he said it would help me if I had a bank account in Vancouver.

And then he said he knew a member of Parliament that would help me get out of Cuba. But the U.S. and the Canadian Government did not give me permission.

Mr. SOURWINE. He may have set up a bank account for you, but if he did it was a phony?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, it was his money. The man was a wealthy man.

Mr. SOURWINE. A wash account, or whatever you want to call it. I withdraw the word "phony." I did not mean any offense by it, truly.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing is, I would like to know about those figures, and if they came from the bank, I would like the bank to back that up.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am very sorry, sir, but I cannot disclose our source of information with respect to that matter. But I do suggest that if you have an account in that bank, and if you do not think you have that much money, write them for an accounting. And if they send you an accounting which shows that you have got substantially less than that, if you want to put it in this record, I am sure the committee will put it in.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All right. And if they do not do it, they are in trouble, because they are not supposed to give out a person's account.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a quarrel between you and the bank, sir, and you will have to establish that the bank gave out the information.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If anybody got it they got it from the bank.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a photocopy of a deposit slip, sir, in the amount of \$2,000 to your account in Tanzania Bank of Commerce.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is 2,000 shillings.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is shillings, is it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does that mean in American money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A shilling is about fourteen cents.

Mr. SOURWINE. That makes a good deal of difference, then, doesn't it?

What does that NBC mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. National Bank of Commerce.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. So it is 14 cents, 28 cents, it is \$280. That is a lot different from \$2,000.

In June of 1968, according to our information, sir, you deposited a New York bank draft in your account at the National Bank of Commerce in Tanzania in the amount of \$1,584. Do you remember that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. \$1,500? It might have been 12.

Mr. SOURWINE. \$1,584.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Are you sure it wasn't 1500 shillings?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, I am not sure. In view of what just took place, it could have been 1,584 shillings.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, money is counted as shillings over there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good.

It would appear that during the period from December 1964 to January 1967 you received approximately \$30,000, if these figures

are dollars instead of shillings, mostly in increments of 5,000 at a time. Do you remember receiving increments of 5,000 shillings at a time?

Let us go off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not remember receiving any shillings or dollars. I might have been paying that out for tickets.

Mr. SOURWINE. For tickets?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. What date was that?

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not have the list of dates here, sir. I am sorry.

You got payments from the Peace Committee. Did your payments come to approximately 35,000 shillings a month, or something like that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I did not receive any payments after I left China, I did not receive any support after I left China, and they were payments given to me for my transportation to the United States. For a family of four it costs over \$1,100 apiece for us to come to the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. In view of the variance, Mr. Chairman, I will run very quickly through the material we have and give the witness an opportunity to say yes or no or make any comment that he wants to with regard to it, I will not ask direct questions.

And I will ask that there may be inserted in the record a tabulation of such amounts as the committee can establish for cancelled checks or bank drafts to be produced or put in the record.

(The material referred to is printed as appendixes I through VII beginning at page 251 of this hearing.)

Mr. SOURWINE. During the period from December 1964 to January 1967 it would appear that you paid out more than \$28,000 from what you call your operational accounts. This included more than \$4,000 to RAM, and \$2,400 to Milton Henry, \$1,500 to Max Stanford, and an item of \$550 to Mae Mallory. Do you want to comment on any of that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not want to comment on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. During 1965 and 1966 it would appear you sent at least \$12,600 to a bank in Vancouver, British Columbia. This may have been money deposited for you by Frank Jones as you have indicated. At the end of 1966 the balance in this account was \$7,150. Did you ever check any money out of that bank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Vancouver, British Columbia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I have never had any money in that bank.

Mr. SOURWINE. In April of 1956 you purchased fifty shares of stock in Now Magazine at a cost of \$500. The money did not come out of any of your operation accounts. Did you pay cash for it or give a note, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. You maintained a savings account at the banks of Montreal and Toronto, you opened it with an initial deposit of \$107 and 50 cents, and you made 5 subsequent deposits, two in 1965 and one in 1968. Do you remember that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the bank account in which I have told you your balance in November 1969 was \$13,905.94, including \$650 in interest. You do not know whose money that is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I hope it is mine. If what they put out is official—I hope it is not somebody trying to make a problem.

Mr. SOURWINE. You flew from Cuba to China in July of 1966. In September of 1966 the China Peace Committee delivered to you the sum of \$5,000 from Cuba. What did that money represent?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From Cuba?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It probably represented our tickets when we were going to China.

Mr. SOURWINE. In September of 1966? You were already in China, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In September?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. Didn't you fly from Cuba to China in July of 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And now in September of 1966.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was probably the money that was raised in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Raised in Cuba, you mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't understand that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you if it is not true that you received from the China Peace Committee or through the China Peace Committee the sum of \$3,000 as money coming to you from Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Transmitted to you from Cuba through the Peace Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I received money that I raised from foreigners, people who gave contributions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask the China Peace Committee to send a thousand dollars to Now Magazine in 1966 or 1967?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, not the Peace Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask anybody to send a thousand dollars to Now Magazine?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I had asked that I be given credit for a thousand dollars for Now Magazine. The magazine had just started out, and I was trying to buy stock in the magazine, and the magazine failed, folded up after the first issue.

Mr. SOURWINE. In September of 1966 you were visited in Cuba by a Mr. Ernest Thomas. Do you remember who he was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't? You gave him \$1,700, didn't you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It might have been \$170.

Mr. SOURWINE. It might have been \$170?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, also what happened—

Mr. SOURWINE. It could not have been shillings in Cuba, could it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could not have been \$817?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Because what happened in a lot of cases also, we used to confuse the issue, we used zeroes, and we know what the zeroes mean, but other people don't.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Like that 2 million in the letter we talked about.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It may be 200. But that is also because the Cubans didn't allow us to handle money.

Mr. SOURWINE. This money reportedly was for RAM, AECB, a Mrs. Hanser, and Milton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mrs. Hanser?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you send money in 1966 to a Cora Bass?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she one of the deserving widows that you told us about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In December 1966 you received \$100 from a Henry Wallace of Kentucky. I don't suppose that was the former vice president of the United States. Do you know who it was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have never met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. The committee is advised that on the 22d of July 1968 you made a deposit in the Tanzania Bank of Commerce in the amount of \$2,000. That was the deposit made in shillings?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, if it was made it was made in shillings, because all of their transactions were made in shillings.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had some dealing in Tanzania Financial with a man named Sanga—an individual named Sanga, I do not know that it was a man. Do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us who he was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was just an African man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just a personal friend?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, a personal friend, a businessman.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went to the bank with him on June 2, 1968 to cash a check and loaned him 2600 shillings, apparently.

If it is a personal matter we will not inquire into it.

While you were in Tanzania you had two bank accounts at the National Bank of Commerce, is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. One was a savings account, and one was a checking account.

Mr. SOURWINE. One of them was quite active, you disbursed more than \$1,300 for a lot of items such as room rent, a record player, a photocopier, and so forth. And the other account was much smaller and relatively inactive. That was the savings account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. What was the date?

Mr. SOURWINE. When you were in Tanzania.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The reason I asked what the date was because, one time I was in Tanzania I shopped there and went back to China.

Mr. SOURWINE. And this was apparently the stuff that you could not get in China that you got to take back to China?

Let us go off the record here.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

During the period of May-September 1969, while you were in Tanzania, you and your wife disbursed something over \$1,350 for such things as your hotel bill, a Volkswagen, and so forth, and \$300 for shipment of household personal effects.

During that same period you issued a bank draft for \$6,000 for deposit to the Lombard Bank, Limited, in London, England to the account of Miss Mabel Robinson.

Now, we talked about that account earlier. And I assured you at the time I did not remember any more about it than you did. But in the light of this statement I am able to make now from a note that has come to light, does this refresh your recollection any?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because for my wife I do not know about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are saying you do not remember issuing a bank draft for \$6,000 for deposit in London to her account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but it is possible. Because actually she was preparing to—

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Did Sanga repay you the 600 shillings you loaned him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. He repaid you, but the check bounced, didn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never got the money back. And you received no royalties at all from the book "Negroes with Guns"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the bank account in the name of The Crusader maintained by Anne Olson is not your personal money, that is Crusader money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is at the Royal Bank of Canada, the Blair and Main branch in Toronto?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know where it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just one thing occurs to me before me quit. We talked about a Frank and a Vick, and so forth. That Frank could not have been Frank Jones, could it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I doubt it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of the witness.

I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Williams for his patience through a great many trying questions, and several days of session.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

(Whereupon at 6:15 p.m. the subcommittee staff conference recessed.)

APPENDIX I

STAFF MEMORANDUM

A review of the proceedings concerning Mr. Williams' financial activity while outside the country disclosed that certain facts, supported by documentation, should be brought to light in the published record of hearings. Of concern, initially, will be the testimony of Mr. Williams as it relates to specific questions and answers regarding his financial activity. Additional documented facts which had not been mentioned during the proceedings, will be introduced.

FINANCIAL ACTIVITY TESTIMONY

A major part of the financial testimony concerns Williams' activities while he was in Cuba, particularly the years 1965 and 1966. During this time, Williams maintained a financial diary of receipts and disbursements under the caption "Operational Accounts." (See Appendix II for our analysis.) During the testimony, Williams could not recall or would not affirm that the incidents involving the amounts recorded in the diary actually took place. It is not clear whether Williams had physical control over the money that was received and disbursed, or whether someone else had physical control of the funds and advised Williams periodically of the various transactions. The fact, however, that some of the financial transactions as recorded in the financial diary in his own handwriting are also entered in his personal diary would, in my opinion, support the conclusion that the financial activity did take place as recorded. For the record, all the accounts are in United States dollars.

SET FORTH BELOW IS THE DOCUMENTED EVIDENCE REGARDING THE FINANCIAL MATTER BROUGHT FORTH IN THE HEARINGS

On page 243 of the testimony concerning Milton Henry and the sum of \$2,000 allegedly disbursed to him, Williams stated he did not remember the incident and probably the amount was \$200. Information extracted from both the financial diary and personal diary of Williams revealed that on April 13, 1966, \$3,000 was transferred into the Operational Account. The following day, \$2,400 was withdrawn and a part of this amount, \$2,000 was identified with the name Milton. On April 26, 1966, Williams' diary indicated that he received a telegram from Asa Lee Johnson informing him that she, along with Aunt Cora and Bowens, received the money sent by Milton. (See Appendix III.)

On page 245, concerning the disbursements of funds to organizations while in Cuba, Williams financial diary disclosed the following:

RAM—two disbursements, one for \$1,000 in May 1965 for travel for RAM and one for \$1,500 in January 1966.

There is no evidence of additional disbursements by Williams while in Cuba to other organizations except, "The Crusader."

In the latter part of 1966, while in China, Williams' diaries indicate the following disbursements, among others, made from the Operational Account:

North Carolina SNCC.....	\$150
Atlanta SNCC.....	100

Disbursements were also made to RAM and others. These items are explained in another part of this memorandum.

On pages 245, 247, and 248, mention is made of Williams' account number 3274 with the Montreal Bank, Toronto, Canada. Information obtained by the Subcommittee indicates the following transactions:

Transaction	Date	Amount
Initial deposit by check.....	Aug. 5, 1965.....	\$107.50
Deposit.....	Aug. 20, 1965.....	3,274.85
Do.....	Sept. 8, 1966.....	2,152.00
Do.....	July 2, 1968.....	7,498.75
Total deposits.....		13,033.10
Interest.....		657.84
Balance.....	Oct. 1969.....	13,690.94

On pages 242, 245, 246 and 247 of the testimony, the question arose concerning an account in the Bank of Montreal, Vancouver, British Columbia, and an individual, Frank B. Jones. Williams contends that the money in the Vancouver account is not his, but merely a set-up to infer that Williams has money in the bank. However, entries in Williams' financial diary indicate that the following transactions involving the sums set forth below took place on the dates noted:

Transaction	Date	Amount
Disbursed to Canadian reserve.....	May 21, 1965.....	\$600
Disbursed to Canadian bank.....	May 30, 1965.....	5,000
Disbursed to Frank Jones, Canada.....	Feb. 3, 1966.....	5,000
Disbursed to Canada.....	May 30, 1966.....	2,000

Pages 246 and 249 mention a deposit slip for the amount of 2,000 shillings in the Tanzania Bank of Commerce. This deposit was made by Williams and is equivalent to \$280.00. (Appendix IV)

Page 247 mentions the purchase of fifty shares of stock in NOW magazine by Williams. Included as Appendix V is a copy of the stock certificate and a letter to Williams regarding his investment.

On page 248, in reference to the China Peace Committee, the record should be corrected to show that Williams' financial diary has an entry to the effect that on September 1, 1966, the Peace Committee delivered \$3,000.00 from Cuba. It is not clear whether this was the balance of the Operational Account at the time that Williams left Cuba in July 1966, or an additional receipt.

In reference to Mr. Ernest Thomas on pages 248 and 249, Williams' Operational Account shows that on September 6, 1966, \$1,700 was sent to RAM and others via Ernest Thomas. This fact is substantiated in Williams' personal diary with an entry on September 6, 1966, to the effect that money was sent to RAM, A. G., C. B., Mrs. Hanser and Milton.

Lastly, on pages 241 and 250, reference is made to a \$6,000 bank draft payable to Lombard Banking, Ltd., London, England, to the account of Miss Mabel Robinson in June 1969. A copy of this check, obtained under subpoena, is included as Appendix VI. Of interest is the fact that Williams' name does not appear on this check. However, based on the evidence set forth below, there is reason to believe that the funds for this check were drawn on Williams' account.

1. Mrs. Mabel Williams' maiden name was Robinson.

2. Williams' personal diary contains an entry on June 10, 1969, to the effect that a letter was received by Williams concerning information on the Lombard Bank in London.

3. A copy of the check shows that the money was drawn on the Masdo House Branch of the National Bank of Commerce. This is the branch at which Williams maintained his account. Also, this check was written during the time Williams was in Tanzania, and just prior to the departure of his family.

FINANCIAL ACTIVITY—NO TESTIMONY

Information concerning Williams' financial activity not mentioned in the Hearing consists of copies of 18 checks drawn by Williams against his Tanzania bank account in 1968. These checks totaled \$1,475.00. Appendix VII contains a listing of the items including payee and amount.

APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

OPERATIONAL ACCOUNT—DECEMBER 1964 TO JANUARY 1967

Receipts

Receipts totaled \$30,000 with the following detail:

December 28, 1964	\$5,000
January 22, 1965	5,000
July 20, 1965	5,000
August 8, 1965	5,000
April 13, 1966	3,000
May 30, 1966	4,000
September 1, 1966	¹ 3,000

¹ P/C delivered from Cuba.

DISBURSEMENTS

Date	Item	Amount
Jan. 24, 1965	Crusader (Canada), money sent to Anna Olson, letter of Jan. 27, 1965.	\$200
	Crusader (United States), money sent to Max Stanford.	500
Feb. 20, 1965	Crusader (United States)	1,000
May 21, 1965	Travel: RAM	600
	Canadian Reserve	200
	Communications, Mae Mallory	200
	Crusader	5,000
May 30, 1965	Transfer to Canadian bank	1,500
Sept. 20, 1965	Max	550
	Mae	1,250
	Service fee, records, etc., misc.	1,500
Jan. 13, 1966	RAM	50
	Carriage	1,500
Jan. 17, 1966	A.C. for transportation to be sent from Europe	5,000
Feb. 3, 1966	Frank Jones, Canada	2,400
Apr. 14, 1966	Withdrawal (Milton)	2,000
May 30, 1966	Distribution to States	2,000
Do	Additional \$2,000 to Canada (Vick)	1,700
Sept. 6, 1966	To RAM and other sent by Ernest Thomas	150
Dec. 20, 1966	NCSNCC	50
	Cora Bass	100
	SNCC Atlanta (Delta)	250
Jan. 3, 1967	To Canton for records	
	Total disbursements	28,200

Note.—The above information was extracted from a financial diary included among papers of Robert F. Williams, obtained under subpoena.

APPENDIX III

DIARY—R. F. WILLIAMS

EXCERPTS CONCERNING FINANCES

- March 20, 1966—Call Canada about bank account.
 March 22, 1966—The 20th is supposed to be pay day. Declines to pick up money.
 April 7, 1966—Chinese let us have \$300 to pay debts and to live on.
 April 13, 1966—\$3,000.00 (no information)
 April 14, 1966—Goes over things with Milton and sends \$2,000.00.
 April 26, 1966—Receive telegram from Asa Lee Johnson informing us that she received money sent by Milton, also Bowens and Aunt Cora.
 May 8, 1966—Paul Brooks stranded in Mexico. Requests that Richard Henry send him money to check out of hotel. Money sent and arrives too late for Brooks to catch plane out of Mexico.
 June 18, 1966—Clamping down on spending and trying to make money last. No income since stopping money from party.
 September 6, 1966—Sends money to RAM, A.G.C.B., Mrs. Hanser and Milton.
 September 10, 1966—P/C came by earlier and brought money for winter clothes.
 October 4, 1966—P/C comes to inform me that money has been sent to NOW.

- December 15, 1966—Sends money \$150.00 to N.C. SNCC, \$50.00 to Aunt Cora, and \$50.00 to Atlanta SNCC for work in Delta Black Belt.
- December 23, 1966—Receives \$100.00 from Henry Wallace of Kentucky
- R. Williams a/c No. 3274—King and Duffin Sts. Branch, 1211 King Street W., Toronto, Ontario
- April 11, 1967—Talks to Anna Louise Strong about money for SNCC
- May 18, 1967—Americans send money for SNCC
- Memo—week ending May 20, 1967—Americans in China contribute \$600.00 for SNCC
- March 6, 1968—P/C sends allowance
- May 3, 1968—Mails money letters
- May 15, 1968—in money situation.
- May 16, 1968—talks to Ambassador about financial situation there.
- May 22, 1968—Checks by Bank with African I knew in New York.
- May 24, 1968—Goes to Bank. Red Tape. Takes all day. Must call nationalist for identification. Letter to Canadian Bank. Mails letters to Canadian Bank.
- May 25, 1968—Go to bank again to finish account.
- May 26, 1968—Go out to Bank again after call. May (?) (Mae) is really afraid of money. Go to Nationalist newspaper office. Mail money orders.
- May 27, 1968—Very hectic week with bank business.
- June 2, 1968—Go with Mr. Sanga to Bank to cash check. Pays 330 shs. Rent is killing me.
- June 7, 1968—A letter from Grove Press interested in book
- June 10, 1968—Worried that money may not arrive in time.
- June 19, 1968—Mixup note from bank: Money here.
- June 20, 1968—Pays rent. 503.05 shs.
- June 21, 1968—Monroe Sharp borrows 35 shs.
- July 4, 1968—Go to bank for M.O. to Chinese Embassy.
- July 5, 1968—Money worries
- July 12, 1968—Money dwindling
- July 14, 1968—Pays \$46.00 rent and withdrawns 1000 shs.
- July 17, 1968—Boe is here. She failed to bring money anticipated.
- July 27, 1968—No word from Denmark Bank yet, nor John
- August 31, 1968—Money low, waits for bank to open for Ronald to cash a traveler's check. Borrow 300 shs
- September 9, 1968—Boe chases check
- December 11, 1968—P/c brings envelopes and paper for Crusader mailing
- December 31, 1968—35,000 copies of Crusader comes from printer
- March 8, 1969—Go to Diplomatic store #19 to tailor to get measured for 2 Chinese suits
- March 31, 1969—Writes check for 1000/shs, pays 435/shs hotel bill. (In Tanzania)
- June 7, 1969—Go to bank and withdraw 2000/shs
- June 10, 1969—Letter comes with info on Lombard Bank in London
- June 11, 1969—Loans Sanga 2600/shs. Withdrew 2800/shs from bank. Buys old VW for 2400/shs.
- June 23, 1969—Gives Max \$50.00
- June 26, 1969—Go to Deluxe Inn to see Sanga. He hasn't got money.
- July 4, 1969—Convert \$100.00
- July 8, 1969—cashes check of Sanga's for 2600 shs.
- July 29, 1969—Bank account for Bal from Detroit
- August 2, 1969—Very concerned about 2600 shs loan to Sanga. Check bounces.
- August 7, 1969—Bank has my account all screwed up. Dollars are in shs, and I must buy them at higher rate.
- August 8, 1969—Bal and I go to Bank. Confusion in bank. Bank account all mixed up. Having to buy dollars, my own dollars
- Note.—Information recorded here was extracted from diaries included among the possessions of Robert F. Williams that were subpoenaed.

APPENDIX IV

TANZANIA BANK OF COMMERCE LIMITED
(INCORPORATED IN TANZANIA)

To The CREDIT of ACCOUNT

No.

22/7/68

Mr. Robert F. Williams
Jsm.

Following Cheques on Banks locally		Shs.	Cts.
No.	H 633930, N.B.C.		
No.	NJOMBE	2000	00
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
No.			
TOTAL		2000	00



TBC 1

Amount

In words (Shillings)

Two thousand only

Signature
of Depositor

Robert Franklin Williams

(Under reserve of acceptance by beneficiary and all usual reserves)

APPENDIX V

DETROIT, MICH., May 10, 1966.

DEAR ROB: Thanks a million for your investment in the magazine and your vote of support. Both mean a great deal at this point in the game, because we have learned considerable about this business since we began publishing on newsprint in August 1964 and prospects for becoming a truly great, widely read magazine are excellent.

The following will give you an idea of what we are doing, and have in mind, on the corporate and management fronts.

1. *Corporation.*—First of all, NOW! is published by Now Incorporated, which was incorporated in Michigan in April 1965. At that time we had an authorized common stock of 5,000 shares with a \$10 per share par value. Those of us in the original, unincorporated organization received approximately 3,600 of these shares in return for our past investment and labor. We also reserved some 400 shares for purchase by the incorporators at \$5.00 per share. At present, I am the largest single stockholder with about 20% of the outstanding common; the rest is held by close friends of mine and my brothers.

Last month, because we need money to finance expansion, we voted at a corporate meeting to increase the common authorization to 10,000 shares, thus giving us 5,000 additional shares of common. We also voted to allow the directors to subscribe to a portion of this at the discounted price of \$1.50 per share; frankly, this provision was not only to induce the directors to increase their investment at this time, but also to attempt to keep control of the corporation within reach of those who founded it. Your investment helped us tremendously, and your stock has been issued at the par value price. We are going to hold a stockholders meeting early in June to name a new Board of Directors. Of the two expected vacancies (it is a seven-member board), Milton will get one. If you decide to make the very significant investment that Milton suggested, the other seat would, of course, be available to you (and could be filled by one of your brothers or sister, if you desired).

2. *Management.*—Press-run last issue was 5,000 copies, with about 3,500 in Detroit and the rest in Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. Signs are that we have sold all of these. In fact, the response in all these cities is enthusiastic and, if we could afford it, we could put 50,000 copies in 20 cities—with the firm expectation of an 80% sale—tomorrow. As it is, we have upped our press-run for the current issue to 8,000. (8,000 cost us \$1,600 plus cost of pictures and stories.)



Two thousand & four hundred
Robert F. Williams

Milton, incidentally, said you and he talked about pushing NOW! to over 300,000. This can be done, but we'd need to move in stages. The first step would be to get into the 20-odd major cities, with 50,000 and test-out our distribution lines. There is no short-cut way to do this. A cycle takes three issues—that is, it is that long before you get your money back on the first issue—and so it is necessary to have money for three issues set aside. By promotion and careful management of the distribution apparatus, circulation in each city could be increased very rapidly, until the cumulative circulation hits 100,000. At this point we should have the base to convert from a monthly to a fortnightly magazine—which will immensely strengthen our income position and make it possible to support bureaus (all-important to a news magazine) in key cities. Adroit management thereafter, and timely investment, should bring us shortly to the 300,000 mark. Key budget figures for a 50,000-run are these:

Expense: Print 50,000.....	\$4, 100
Income:	
Sold	40, 000
Return, 13 cents per magazine.....	50, 200
Gross profit.....	1, 100

The income from advertising is an unknown quantity and difficult to predict because of the nature of our editorial material. However, advertising revenue need not be inconsequential (we are devoting appropriate time toward maximizing our advertising revenue consistent with our editorial policy) and this income plus circulation revenue will enable us to keep the doors open without running in the red.

We get our editorial material by buying it. Thus, until we hit about 100,000, we will continue to run the operation by using part-time editors and buying material from writers and photographers all over the country and (in the future) the world. When we hit 50,000, we hope to put Laurence on as our first, full-time paid editor. He will stay on the move.

Rob, I hope this brief run-down gives you a little more of the information you'd like to have.

Good luck and very best wishes,

RICHARD B. HENRY.

P.S.—Please overlook my bad typing.

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF
MICHIGAN

COMMON STOCK
NOW INCORPORATED

AUTHORIZED CAPITAL 5,000 SHARES \$50,000 PAR VALUE

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

is the owner of
FIFTY full paid and non-assessable
SHARES OF THE CAPITAL STOCK OF NOW INCORPORATED
transferable on the books of the Corporation in person or by duly authorized officer upon
surrender of this Certificate properly endorsed.
In Witness Whereof the said Corporation has caused this Certificate to be signed by its duly
authorized officers and sealed with the Seal of the Corporation.

this 16th day of APRIL A.D. 1906

SECRETARY
Vergil Hobbs

AMUS Berry

012
015
011
016
022
033
044
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077
088
099
000

BANK OF AMERICA

APPENDIX VII

BANK DRAFTS DRAWN AGAINST ROBERT F. WILLIAMS' ACCOUNT AT THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE,
TANZANIA

Payee and address	Date	Amount
Emma Barbour, 300 Branch St., Monroe, N.C.	(May 23, 1968) ¹	\$100
Cora Bass, 105 Jerome St., Monroe, N.C.	(June 28, 1968)	100
Naseer Ahmad Shabazz, 1343 Hayes St., San Francisco, Calif. (chairman, National ADNIP Party).	do	100
Viola Parker, Post Office Box 461, Weldon, N.C. (Weldon, N.C., SNCC)	July 1, 1968	25
Black Panther Party, Post Office Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, Calif.	(May 23, 1968) ¹	50
Lorraine W. Garlington, 18918 Dequind, Detroit, Mich.	(June 28, 1968)	25
Shirli Grant, 3971 Patomic No. 2, Los Angeles, Calif.	July 1, 1968	100
Kirkwood Hall, 532 Union St., Linden, N.J.	June 28, 1968	500
Fannie Lou Hamer, 626 East Lafayette, Ruleville, Miss.	do	50
E. A. Johnson, 503 North Boyte, Monroe, N.C.; 2942 French St., Philadelphia, Pa.	July 1, 1968 ¹	25
Ray Mungo, RFD 3, Box 160, Brattleboro, Vt. (Liberation News Service)	June 28, 1968	25
Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Gardens, Toronto, Canada	do	100
Addie Williams, 1700 Concord Ave., Monroe, N.C.	July 1, 1968	50
Soulbook, P.O. Box 1097, Berkeley, Calif.	June 28, 1968	25
Martin Sorstre, Defense Committee	do	25
Robert L. Brock, 3208 South Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.	July 1, 1968	50
	June 28, 1968	100
Total disbursements		1,475

¹ Copy of bank memo not available.² Copy of check not available.

Note—The above information was extracted from diaries included among papers of Robert F. Williams, obtained under subpoena.

APPENDIX VII

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY, BUREAU OF MINT, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134465/MHB/164

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE

1958

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. EMMA BARBOUR.

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY.

U.S. \$100/-

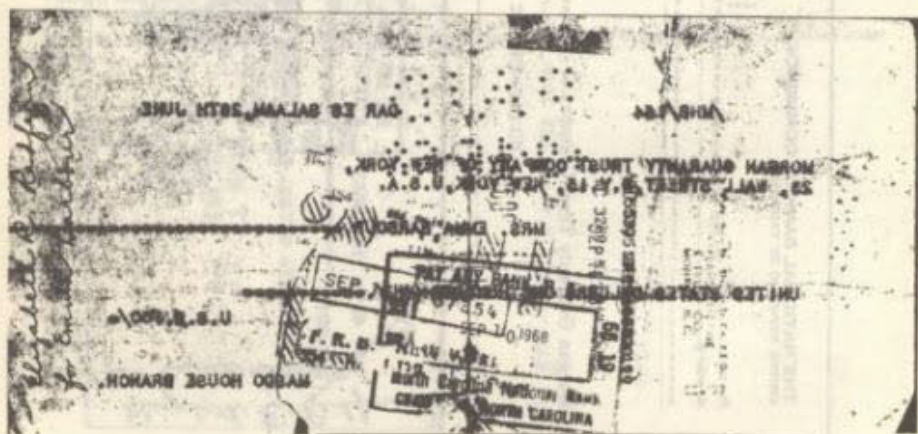
210-23

SEP 16 1958

CO-210-00

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MADISON HOUSE BRANCH.

000000100000



THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134464/MHB/163 19.68

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK

Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. CORA BASS.

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY

U.S. \$100/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
WASGO HOUSE BRANCH

10/1

Mrs. Cora Bass
23 Wall Street
New York 15, N.Y.

MHB/163

AUG 13 '68 07326

F. R. B. NEW YORK

1120

UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY

U.S. \$100/-

WASGO HOUSE BRANCH

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA 1266 McALLISTER

No. A 134525/HHB/179

BAR ES SALAM, 1ST JULY

19 68

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, N.Y. A.

1138



Pay against this cheque to the order of NASEEN A. SHABAZZ

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY.

U.S. \$ 25/-

25.00

564-4791

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASDO HOUSE BRANCH.*Naseen A. Shabazz*

1000 125001

Naseen A. Shabazz
1266 McAllister St.
BAR ES SALAM, 1ST JULY

071/81M

PAY TO THE ORDER OF ANY BANK
BANKER OR OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTION
THE PACIFIC TRUST COMPANY
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.AUG 5 1968
PAY ANY BK P.E.G.
MASDO HOUSE BRANCHC.I. BANK OF AMERICA
Any Bank, Banker or Trust Co.
THE PACIFIC TRUST COMPANY
457 886 44
PACIFIC NATIONAL BANK
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

U 490 ALG 6 68

25.00

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 13455/111

D. R. S. D. A. 15. JULY 19 66

Exhibition Stamp (1) Ltd. 1000-1000

LONDON: C. P. 1000-1000
23, 1000-1000

AMOUNT

DEBIT ADVISE

ROBERT FRANKIE WILLIAM
BOX
DAR ES SALAAM.At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs.	179.40
Commission	Shs.	3.00
Postages	Shs.	1.50
Stamp	Shs.	.30

☐ We have debited your account
☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs. 184.20

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. 14/66

Pay to

the order of

MRS. VIOLA PARKER, *****

23RD MAY 1966

1-23

210

50.00

FIFTY UNITED STATES

Dollars

X

Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Maria K. Parker
AUGUST 1966

⑆0210⑉0023⑆ 667 98 373⑆

⑈0000005000⑈

11/66

15/66

30.00

FIFTY UNITED STATES

PAY ANY BANK, P.E. 5444 89.9 JUN

WACHOVIA BANK AND TRUST CO.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

59 WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Mrs. Viola Parker
133 W. 11th St.
P.O. Box 76
2100

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

AMOUNT PAID TO THE ORDER OF

ROBERT WILLIAMS TRUST COMPANY OF
23 WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, EN YORK, U.S.

A 134-121-1
193
PAID JUL 19 30

AMOUNT

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY CENTS

U.S. \$.25/=

DEBIT ADVICE

ROBERT WILLIAMS
P.O. BOX 84,
DAR ES SALAMUS

At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs.	179.40
Commission	Shs.	3.00
Postages	Shs.	1.50
Stamp	Shs.	.30

☐ We have debited your account
☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs. 184.20

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
23, WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

PAID IN FULL BY BANK OF AMERICA, 1938

476

AMOUNT

U.S.S. 200/-

DEBIT ADVICE

ROBERT FRANKIE WILLIAM
BOX
BAR ES SALAM.

At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shd	717.55
Commission	Shs	7.20
Postages	Shs	1.50
Stamp	Shs	.30

☐ We have debited your account
☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs 726.55

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
 UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
 DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE 1968

1471/MHB/170

To: BORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF INC. N.Y.C.
 23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK U.S.A.

Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. LORRAINE E. GARLINGTON.

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS FIVE HUNDRED ONLY

U.S. \$ 500/-

Maria Lorraine
 1041

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
 MASDO HOUSE BRANCH.
 000000500000

380
 K C
 030082080

Mrs. Lorraine E. Garlington

000000500000

U.S. \$ 500/-

MASDO HOUSE BRANCH.

UNITED STATES DOLLARS FIVE HUNDRED ONLY

MRS. LORRAINE E. GARLINGTON

BORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF INC. N.Y.C.
 23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK U.S.A.

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE 1968

1471/MHB/170

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
 UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
 DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE 1968

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 125472/UBS/
170

20 JUL 19

AMOUNT PAID TO THE ORDER OF THE
CASHIER BY TRUST COMPANY OF
22

AMOUNT

PAID TO THE ORDER OF THE CASHIER

DEBIT ADVICE

U.S. \$ 100/=

ROBERT WILLIAMS
BOX 84,
DAR ES SALAAM.

At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs. 3587.70
Commission	Shs. 35.95
Postages	Shs. 1.50
Stamp	Shs. .30

☐ We have debited your account
☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs. 3625.45

Max de la Roche
THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134468/MBB/167

DAR ES SALAAM, 26TH JUNE

19 68

For
MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.



Pay against this cheque to the order of SHIRLI GRANT

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS FIFTY ONLY

U.S. \$ 50/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASRO HOUSE BRANCH.

Maria T...
1041

Shirli Grant
Shirli Grant

DAR ES SALAAM, 26TH JUNE

JUNE 26/1968

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

SHIRLI GRANT

UNITED STATES DOLLARS FIFTY ONLY
AUG 1968
MASRO HOUSE BRANCH
DAR ES SALAAM
15 12 00 22

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 174450 / JTB /

200805 JUN 2000: JUL 19 53

Telephone: 748-1111 (T) 1-800-888-8888

JORG A. GUERNEY TRUST CO., INC. OF FLA.
23, 24th Street, N.Y. 15, L.I. YORK, U.S.

A MOUNT

U.S. \$.50/ =

DEBIT ADVICE

ROBERT WILLIAM
BOX 84,
DAR ES SALAAM.

At your request we have issued the above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs	358.75
Commission	Shs	3.60
Postages	Shs	1.50
Stamp	Shs	.30

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364.15

SPH-2

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

Wm H. Dyer

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

No. A 134469/MHB/168

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE

1968

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 13, NEW YORK U.S.A.

CASHED

30

Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER.

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY.

U.S. \$ 25/-

AUG 14 1968

60710-00

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASSE HOUSE BRANCH.

60710-00

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE

AUG 14 1968
PAY TO THE ORDER OF
MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER
U.S. \$ 25/-



MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER

UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY

U.S. \$ 25/-

MASSE HOUSE BRANCH

KANSAS CITY MARKET

106 1/2 First Street
RULINGE MISS.

Mrs Fannie L. Hamer

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 134459/111

D R M S L N 2011 JUNE 19 00

AMOUNT PAID TO THE ORDER OF

HONG KONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CO. LTD.
22, LA STATION, H.F.15, JET TOWER, U.S.

U.S. \$ 25/=

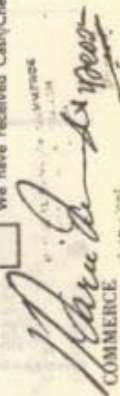
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ROBERT WILLIAM
P.O. BOX 84,
DAR ES SALAAM.At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs. 179.40
Commission	Shs. 3.00
Postages	Shs. 1.50
Stamp	Shs. .30

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☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs. 184.20



THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134463/MHB/162

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE 1968

19 68

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
 23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

210-33



Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. E.A. JOHNSON,

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY.

U.S. \$100/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MADDO HOUSE BRANCH.

10240-00

1041

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PAY ANY BANK, P. E. S.

DAR ES SALAAM, 28TH JUNE 1968

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

MRS. E.A. JOHNSON

UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY.

U.S. \$100/-

MADDO HOUSE BRANCH

Mrs. E.A. Johnson
Mrs. Day
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THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

CLASS NO.

A934053/

2302 J. 17.0

Substratum: V. 2007 (T) L 110, 00313-03049

NEW YORK: GUNN & GUNN TRADING CO. P. 7-02 P.
S. 25, WILLIAM STREET, N. Y. 15, N. Y. 15, U.S.A.

AMOUNT U. S. D. \$ 100.00

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C/O DELUXE INN.

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At your request we have issued the above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	Shs. 717.55
Commission	Shs. 7.20
Postages	Shs. 1.50
Slamo	Shs. .30

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THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134472/MHB/171

DAR ES SALAAM, 20TH JUNE

1958

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.



Pay against this cheque to the order of RAYMOND MORGAN

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY ONLY.

U.S. \$25/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASO HOUSE BRANCH.

Max J. J. J.
1041

88

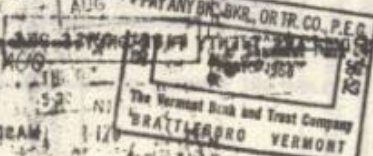
DAR ES SALAAM, 20TH JUNE

171-B-171

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

22 9107

Shawmut Bank &
225 N. 8.0



MORGAN MASO HOUSE

The Vermont Bank and Trust Company
BRATTLEBORO VERMONT

pay to Max J. J. J. 9-1-1958

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 1344227112

1971

1962

D. P. S. S. 1000 4 2016 JUL 15

Information: BANK OF TANZANIA, 1000 4 2016 JUL 15

LORRAINE SURNAME TRUST COMPANY OF
23, WILD STREET, LONDON, W.1, ENGLAND

AMOUNT

U.S. \$ 25/-

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above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

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Commission	Shs.	3.00
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THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

COMPANY NO.

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1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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DEBIT ADVISE

ROBERT FRANKIE WILLIAM
BOX
DAR ES ~~S~~ SALAAM.

At your request we have issued the above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

Rate	\$m	358.75
Commission	\$m	3.60
Postages	\$m	1.50
Stamp	\$m	.30

We have debited your account	Shd.
We have received Cash/Cheque	

364.15

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134473/MHB/172

BAR. ES SALAM, 26TH GUNE

19.6F

For MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

F. R. LATE ITEMS
AUG 20 1968



! Pay against this cheque to the order of MRS. ADDIE WILLIAMS

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY

U.S. \$.25/-

442271

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASDO HOUSE BRANCH

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52 - 441 STREET N.Y. 13. NEW YORK, U.S.A.

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UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY.

MASSACHUSETTS

FOREIGN BOOK

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THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.	135473/1
172	
DATE	28th June 1958

Pay to the order of
 ROGER A. GIBBNEY TRUST COMPANY
 25, ALBANY STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

U.S.\$ 25/-

AMOUNT IN FIGURES IN FULL IN WORDS FIVE ONLY

DEBIT ADVICE

ROBERT WILLIAMS
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At your request we have issued the
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Commission	Shs	3.00
Postages	Shs	1.50
Stamp	Shs	.30

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Shs 184.20

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
Robert Williams
 for account of

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134470/MHB/169

DAR ES SALAAM 28TH JUNE

19-58

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Pay against this cheque to the order of SOUL BOOK

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS TWENTY FIVE ONLY

U.S. \$.25/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MADISON HOUSE BRANCH

82

JUL 27 1960

NEW YORK TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
100 STREET N.Y. 12. NEW YORK U.S.A.

DEC 1 1930

PAY ANY BANK, P.E.O.

—11 C. B. SOUTHWICK—

25. 2. 11

MADDO HOUSE BRANCH.

95

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0400

Held

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.	A 154/20/153
DATE	13.9.69
TO ORDER OF	19.50

D E 13.9.69 20TH JULY 1969

TANZANIA 1969 (1) 150 - 8333-5000

PAID TO ORDER OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
 19.50 TANZANIAN SHILLINGS

AMOUNT

U.S. \$ 25.00

T.S. \$ 25.00

XIX/XXX

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Postages	Shs.	1.50
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Shs. 194.20

Mrs. A. C. M. M. M.
 CHAIRMAN

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

No. A 134523 /MHS/177

DAR ES SALAM, 1ST JULY

19.68

For MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, KKKX, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Pay against this cheque to the order of MARTIN GORSTRE

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS FIFTY ONLY

U.S. \$.50/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MADISON HOUSE BRANCH

YJUL 781, MAJAS 22 JAO

11/11/11

ROOM GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
111 STREET RENT N.Y. 12. NEW YORK, U.S.

MARTIN-CONSTANT

—\02.1.8.0

MARDO HOUSE BRANCH.

007 1542

1547

The report
 Martin House
 Progressive Committee
 James Russell
 Peaty

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 3452/011

Collection Terms (1) LTD. - 30/01/1978

HONG KONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CO. LTD. OF
23, WILSON STREET, HONG KONG, U.S.

1978

DAR ES SALAM, 15/11/1978

AMOUNT

U.S.P. 50/=

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ROBERT FRANKIE WILLIAM
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Rate	Shs.	358.25
Commission	Shs.	3.60
Postages	Shs.	1.50
Stamp	Shs.	.30

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☐ We have received Cash/Cheque

Shs. 363.65

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. A 134467 MHB/156

DAR ES SALAAM, 26TH JUNE

19 62

To: MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
23, WALL STREET, N.Y. 15, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Pay against this cheque to the order of ROBERT L. BROCK

the sum of UNITED STATES DOLLARS ONE HUNDRED ONLY

U.S. \$ 100/-

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE
MASDO HOUSE BRANCH.

SHUL HTSS. MAJAB 83 RAO

25 WALL STREET, N.Y. 10, NEW YORK, U.S.A.
MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK

*****ROBERT L. BROOK*****

1965

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WABDO HOUSE BRANCH.

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DRAFT NO.
A 134937/55155
1955
JAN 14 1955

CASHIER, 100, N. 10th St., NEW YORK

MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF N.Y.
23, WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

AMOUNT \$100,000.00

DEBIT ADVICE

ROBERT WILLIAMS
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DAR ES SALAM.At your request we have issued the
above-mentioned DEMAND DRAFT for

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Commission	7.20
Postages	1.50
Stamp	.20

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\$100.00
726.55

THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE



The Crusader

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher —IN EXILE—

VOL. 5 — No. 2

FEBRUARY 1964

REVOLUTION WITHOUT VIOLENCE?

WE ARE an oppressed and dehumanized people, who have been long suffering and much too patient and tolerant of our status in America. We have begged and prayed for justice to no avail. Are we to forever remain aloof to the



logic of history? History is a mirror of the human facts of life. History bears out the fact that oppressors never voluntarily relinquish their tyrannical grip on the oppressed. The

oppressed, themselves, must break the strangle hold of their oppressors.

There are no "give away programs" and "get free quick tricks" for true freedom. Brutal oppression and race hatred are forms of social maladies. These syndromes are reflections of a sick society. The collective personality of a society, riddled with ingrained and perennial prejudices and hatreds, signifies psychiatric ills as well as economic ones. A malignant cancerous sore on a society, like the chronic race hatred that infects the United States of America, cannot be cured by mild medications. For psychiatric ills, in cases where the patient has completely divorced himself from the logic of reality, when he is beyond the realm of response to normal stimuli, the shock treatment is the best treatment. In most cases it is considered a highly successful remedy.

A cancerous sore requires a serious physical operation. In the U.S. race problem, anything less is simply to play the element of time, and time alone is tantamount to a sort of spiritual faith healing that presages a rendezvous with disaster.

The present hope of Afroamericans to cure the malignant ills of savage racial oppression, by so-called peaceful methods, approximates mild medication where surgery is needed. Turn-the-other-cheekism is tantamount to treating psychotics with homicidal tendencies by playing a childish game of "tag" or touch foot ball when a dose of electrical shock is needed.

I do not mean to convey the impression that I am against non-violent tactics when feasible. I advocate "peaceful demonstrations" when conditions permit. The possibility of this type of struggle succeeding diminishes daily. What Negro leaders call "peaceful" is more realistically being viewed as a guarantee of immunity from just retribution for sadistical brutes. "Nonviolence" is fast becoming a sophisticated term for self-imposed paralysis of the natural human nerve system and its automatic reflexes of self preservation.

Many "nonviolent" proponents are advancing the theory that violence is "immoral." They speak of all forms of violence in the same terms. They fail to distinguish between the righteous violence of the noble patriots of Concord, Lexington, Valley Forge, Gettysburgh, Harper's Ferry, Richmond and the great revolutionaries throughout the history of the world, and that of the savages who murdered William Moore, Medgar Evers, and the innocent children of Birmingham. The word "nonviolence" is being used too loosely and mechanically in a deceptive way.

Negro leaders are too prone to commit the masses of our people to battle in untenable positions by swearing to forego self preservation, simply for the sake of praise and donations from white liberals. In many of these situations it is more than obvious that these liberals' humanitarianism extends to the white race only. These liberals can tolerate the heads blown off little black girls. They can look with impassion at the black being maimed and slaughtered. They are willing to hold a rally of protest and hypocritically denounce heinous crimes against our people, but this is the limit to which they are prepared to go. The more they protest the more vicious the violence seems to become. Is it not strange that they become more emotional about the possibility of black Americans defending themselves than when savage whites practice mayhem against them? These so-called liberals are quick to exclaim that they are equally opposed to violence, no matter what side or reason it may stem from. Let us be more concerned with their action than words. Many of these so-called liberals either own or hold stock in sweatshops. Some hold supervisory or positions of influence in their communities. Some carry insurance with racist companies. Many rate high in the field of education, medicine and commerce. The list of their exploits is endless. In short, many are in position to take punitive action or cause punitive action to be brought against brutal racists. These so-called liberals can find a thousand excuses to justify their not taking action against barbaric racists. But oh let a poor down-trodden, brutalized black speak of self-defense! They speak of punitive action.

The new concept of revolution defines military science and tactics. The new 400 years of violence, terror and hunger. Our people have already been conditioned by almost conditioning of his forces. Because of his ultra modern and automated society and the lack of psychological struggle. Such a formidable enemy will fall prey to the new concept of revolution of production, and adverse conditions created by the world wide liberation conditions, total disorganization, frustration of his economic, chaotic their allies inside the U.S., but because of the creation of economic, chaotic because of the fighting ability and military power of Black Freedom Fighters and This racist imperialist oppressor will not be brought to his knees, simply fall into a state of chaos.

Will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught side with Afro G. I.'s. Because of the vast areas covered by the holocaust, U.S. armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the pipe lines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to rubble. Essential will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory utilize massive violence to attempt to contain our struggle. When massive violence they are not susceptible to such mild pressures for reform and that they will

We prefer peaceful negotiations, but our oppressors have proved to us that people have nothing to lose but their chains. have more to lose than the dehumanized and oppressed in such a conflict. Our such a conflict. America is too sensitive to withstand such a shock. The oppressors a minority in the world? The fact is that the racist are the ones who will lose oppressors that they cannot win? Why do they not tell them that they constitute degenerate into a state of massive violence. Why do they not tell the racist of nature. They are quick to inform us that we cannot win any conflict that may missions are to demoralize our people and encourage them to reject the first law There are those mercenary Uncle Toms and masochists among us, whose psychologically. We must become adept in the methods of massive defense.

do it collectively. We must condition ourselves for defense, both physically and defenseless people. Not only must we defend ourselves violently, but we must oppressor immunity from retribution for their heinous acts of violence against our commitment that so-called Negro leaders have made guaranteeing our brutal We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must reject the unwritten dehumanization and slavery.

for freedom and justice rather than to cower timidly and submit to the evils of force in shaping world society? It is better for oppressed people to be fanatics and freedom. Does not history prove that so-called fanatics constitute the greatest extent that we become fanatical in our determination to live in human dignity those racist savages who dehumanize us. Let us hate oppression to such an with all the passion of our hearts hate oppression and the savage conduct of Let us not develop a hatred of whites, simply because they are white, but dark dungeon of slavery and misery.

he will voluntarily release our people from almost 400 years of shackles and the that we can appeal to the conscience of a brutal oppressor to the extent that conduct a revolution without violence. Let us not be so astute as to believe racism to the world, but let us not be so naive as to believe that we can to mobilize the masses of our people and to expose the true nature of U.S. Yes, we should all advocate peaceful and nonviolent demonstrations in order a stage of real crisis — a stage of flight or fight.

under centuries of slavery, brutal exploitation and dehumanization. We are entering

They are more than willing to withdraw their support. They are more than willing to make a public statement denouncing so-called "violent Negroes." Oh, their conscience and principles will just not allow them to cooperate with anything so immoral as a black, bringing into play the natural reflex action of self defense. These charlatans, who claim to be friends and counselors in our struggle for liberation, are in actuality the fifth column allies of the most brutal and savage advocates of white supremacy. Their real loyalty, either consciously or subconsciously, is to the racist premise that no black man should ever be able to find justification for defending himself against the violence of the white man. These self-righteous moralists deceive obsequious Negroes into believing that they have been divinely commissioned to introduce the superior conduct of latent masochism to a violently wicked jungle. While the whites, in their homes, schools and churches, teach their children to honor violent warriors and uncompromising rebels, they brainwash the black to accept the tenets of pacifism. All life is geared to the acceptance of white domination of all universally significant affairs. The excruciating oppression of Afroamericans is considered secondary and of little consequence. What a dual standard.

Total integration means assimilation. Is the American society based upon the premise of nonviolence? No! It is an inbred and violent society. It is a society whose symbol is the marauding eagle. There is no place in the eagle's nest for a peace dove. The timid peace dove is the symbol that the liberals would have us adopt. Pacifism is alien to the American mode of life. Facism, adopted by a people already set aside from the mainstream of American life because of a blood and color differential, adds another distinct feature to broaden the discriminatory chasm. It not in color, at least in social conduct, we must reflect similarities in order to become assimilated into North American society and its culture. The cult of nonviolence is a religion that brings glory and gratification to latent masochists.

Self-defense is not a love of violence. It is a love for justice. Oppressive and malicious aggression show manifestations of love for violence and sadism. And the so-called nonviolent forces so overwrought with the sensual pleasure they derive from the violence of so-called nonviolence that their emotions obscure the clear cut difference between self-defense (self preservation) and oppressive aggression? Their actions suggest they are. When an Afroamerican proclaims the right of self-defense, nonviolent elements, without qualification, uncategorically equal like probed pigs that the "self-defense" advocate is a "violent black racist." He is publicly denounced and dishonorably drummed out of the white folk's dominated "good rights society." No amount of polemics can prevail upon them that the self-defense advocate means anything other than a declaration of love for violence and that all "white folks" indiscriminately should be murdered in cold blood.

This is not a normal reaction to a logical reflex action. This is an emotional reaction governed by vested interest in a policy of meek submission of the oppressed and brutally exploited masses. The liberal white architect of black nonviolence cannot possibly be so naive as to believe all of this propaganda and type about the power of nonviolence and love. Surely they must know that nonviolence and love can only bring about things benefits that the oppressor do not consider worth fighting for, or that they consider to be expendable items, designed to allay the angry emotions engendered in the hearts of the suffering masses.

Present engagements on the civil rights battle front show stifling resistance on the part of the oppressor. This is because the demands of our people are now shifting to essential things like the right to be equally employed, educated and legally protected. These are the benefits that will raise the level of our people. These things are basic to our right to enjoy desegregated restaurants, hotels and places of amusement. These are the things that will give our people an equal chance to overcome an inferior status and inferiorly complexes developed

concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the USA. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the USA in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people.

Of course, there would be great losses on the part of our people. How can we expect liberation without losses? Our people are already being admonished by the nonviolent forces to die for Freedom. We are being told to sacrifice our lives in situations of diminishing returns. If we must die, let us die in the only way that the oppressor will feel the weight of our death. Let us die in the tried and proven way of liberation. If we are going to talk about revolution, let us know what revolution means.

The dilemma facing our oppressed people in the USA today is the fact that the forces of white supremacy are already preparing a campaign of massive extermination against us. The cold fact of the matter is that we are going to experience violence whether we defend ourselves or not. The greatest security of defense is to be able to annihilate and demoralize the aggressive and oppressive forces of the racist enemy. All over the USA, the John Birchers, the Minutemen, the States Righters, the Nazis and Ku Klux Klanners are arming and training for total warfare against our people. There is no doubt as to what side the racist police, F.B.I., National Guard and the Federal Government will be on. The U.S. Justice Department has already shown its true colors by tracking down law abiding Freedom Fighters and indicting them for seeking the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution. The Afroamerican hasn't got a chance in the USA unless he organizes to defend himself.

It is no longer a truism that our people cannot win such a struggle. The world has changed and the favor of the situation has shifted to the side of the Afroamerican. Those who cry that we cannot win are either agents of the oppressor, latent masochists or ignorant of the new facts of life. We do not need paternal white "big daddies" for our friends now. What we need are some fighting John Browns.

Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressors are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create stronger ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is important that our people stop cooperating with our oppressor and exert more effort to expose his beastly ways to the peoples of the world. Yes, we can win because our struggle is just and our friends are many. The hand writing is already on the wall. Victory is now within our reach. **LET US PREPARE TO SEIZE IT!**

JUSTICE FOR MAE MALLORY

Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory has lost a 2 year fight against extradition back to racist Monroe, N.C. Mrs. Mallory was indicted along with local Afroamerican Freedom Fighters: Richard Crowder and Harold Respe, a white New York student Freedom Rider, John Lowery, and Robert F. Williams, who is now exiled in Cuba. The case grew out of a race riot that flared during a nonviolent demonstration for human rights. The frame-up indictment was engineered by the Ku Klux Klan.

Minutemen and racist police in a concerted effort to crush an integration and freedom movement.

The case is scheduled to be tried in the February term of the Union County (N.C.) Superior Court at Monroe. The Monroe Defendants have less chance for a fair trial in Monroe than has a snowball in a blast furnace. If a Negro should be accused of murdering Christ by Union County whites the verdict would be "guilty." The racist savages of Monroe are devoid of any human capacity that allows them to conduct an impartial trial where Afroamericans and civil rights fighters are concerned. These victims of rabid white supremacy need your moral and financial support. Every just-minded person who possibly can is urged to attend the Monroe Kangaroo sessions to witness U.S. racist democracy in action. Seeing is believing. I can assure that you will be astounded to see what racist maniacs and great exponents of "the American Way of Life" call democratic justice for people who advocate the implementation of the U.S. Constitution.

SEND A FREEDOM CONTRIBUTION TODAY TO
MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
416 BOYDE STREET
MONROE, N. C.

C.A.M.D.
168 W. 23rd Street
New York, N.Y.

GUILT BY VIRTUE OF BEING BORN BLACK

Court frame-up is a method of legal lynching. We who know the mentality of U.S. racists, from experience, are not surprised to see this system utilized by white racist savages in disposing of Afroamericans who refuse to conform to the traditional patterns of segregation. We are not in the least bit fazed to see the racist U.S. Justice Department and F.B.I. laboring in the camp of their fellow-travelers and condemning black Americans on trumped-up evidence that wouldn't even rate a hearing against whites. The crowning experience of my long battle for racial equality and social justice is the cohesiveness of white nationalism even over and above distinct political differences. It is sobering to learn that racist reactionary degenerates, who ostentatiously claim membership in the U.S.C.P., have joined the F.B.I. and Ku Klux Klan chorus of "guilt by race" in songs of hate, steeped in a reckless disregard for facts and evidence. These racist pseudo Marxists are so far in the vanguard of white supremacy that they have beaten the racist courts in handing down a "guilty" verdict against the Monroe Defendants.

CHINA: NEW HOPE OF OPPRESSED HUMANITY

Those white supremacist reactionaries who sit in their crumbling castles and dream their drunken dreams of world domination, while plotting and waiting for the fall and decline of THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, are likened unto the aging maiden who vainly sits before a mirror hoping for some magic phenomenon of rejuvenation. China is surging ahead. Contrary to what reactionaries would like us to believe, China is far from being isolated and it is now playing a major role in the international liberation struggle. During our two months stay in China, we witnessed with our own eyes the accomplishment of what the cynics and detractors of China once called the impossible.

The great drought caused serious problems in China. However, this condition has been overcome. The Chinese people are reaping a bumper harvest this year and the market places are flooded with food. The Department stores are loaded with well constructed and beautiful consumer goods. Not only in urban communities, but throughout the land, even in the rural areas the stores are as well stocked as in many capitalist American communities. The stores are bustling with shoppers freely purchasing beautiful products that only the rich could afford to own in the old days.

Businessmen from 101 countries of the world are trading with China. Friends of China from all over the world can be seen freely touring the country. Chinese heavy industry is developing beyond description. In order for one to truly ascertain

the magnitude of progress being made in Chinese industry, it is necessary for one to see for himself.

Only the fools of the world are so stupid as to believe that they can isolate and ignore a quarter of the population of the entire earth. China is fast becoming a great world power. It is a power for good. A power to aid in the liberation of all of the oppressed peoples of the world. The Chinese people are not vain and boastful. They insist that though they have made gains, they still have a long way to go. A visit to China will convince any rational person that the great Chinese people have the determination and talent to accomplish any objective they set for themselves in the shortest possible time.

The Chinese people support all peoples who struggle for justice and liberation. They whole-heartedly support Afroamericans who struggle against Jim Crow and racial oppression in the so-called free world of the racist USA. In the factories, in the store windows, on billboards, in recreation centers and conspicuous places throughout the land, huge posters proclaim the Chinese people's support for oppressed Afroamericans. Even the small children of China express great admiration and sympathy for their oppressed black brothers of the barbaric and racist USA. They are very saddened when they hear of the terrifying plight of our people in America. We are extremely fortunate to have such honest, sincere, and militant people as our allies. We must do more to create a greater bond between our peoples. More of our Freedom Fighters should visit our Chinese brothers and sisters. To see China is to see the hope of all of the oppressed and dehumanized peoples of the world. To see China is to see a great giant fast growing into maturity and leadership. China is one of the most dynamic countries in the world today and in a short time is destined to become leader of the truly free world. (MORE ABOUT CHINA NEXT ISSUE)

THE GREAT DECEPTION

Carl Rowan has been appointed as chief of U.S. Information Services. This is good for Carl Rowan. It is a step forward for him, but we must ask the political hypocrites when will 20 million black Americans be granted equal protection under law, the right to obtain and hold decent jobs, the right to live in other than black ghettos, the right to be equally educated and the right to use public toilets? The appointment of Carl Rowan, a Negro, to such a position is symbolic of the difficulty racist America is having explaining the Afroamerican's status in the so-called defender country of Christian democracy. Carl Rowan is going to look mighty foolish trying to explain the Birmingham's that are yet to come to a horrified world. It is the most inhumane joke of the century to have a member of the victimized race trying to white-wash the brutal dehumanization of his people. The civilized peoples of the world are not so asinine as to be impressed by the virtues of a democracy that even denies its mouthpiece the use of a public toilet in his native state of Tennessee.

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ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, P. O. Box 6185, Havana, Cuba.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG IN SUPPORT OF THE AFROAMERICANS IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

"... I call upon the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened personages of all colours in the

world, white, black, yellow, brown, etc., to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and to support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists, headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are carrying out oppression, aggression and intimidation against the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people."

—Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

CUBA ADVANCES

Yankee sint what he used to be. Ninety miles from Cuban socialism, he has failed to bring about its downfall even though the whole world knows that he is trying with all his might by hook and crook to do just that. His would-be boycott has backfired. It is readily conceded that he has caused Cuba some unnecessary difficulties, but when an enemy is aware of the fact that his terrorist tactics can only bring about undue hardships on innocent populations, without any possibility of success or victory, then the enemy can be classified as nothing more than an evil and demented sadist. Things have vastly improved in Cuba. The stores were well stocked with highquality toys and Christmas goods. The kids are riding so many shiny new bikes around Havana now it is becoming difficult to walk or drive. Despite the damage of the hurricane, roasted pork (the traditional Christmas dish of Cuba) was more than plentiful. It is a more than obvious fact that the Cuban revolution is advancing. Only old senile Uncle Sam, who wears his white Panama hat to the North Pole, his Alaska furs to Africa and his B.V.D.s. (skivvy drawers) to South Vietnam, is stupid enough to ignore the progress of the Cuban Revolution. The best proof of the stability of the Cuban Revolution is the fact that astute British capitalists and other wise Europeans can see the wisdom in making long term monetary agreements. One thing to be said about clever capitalists is that they know a good thing when they see one. Yes, in threats of anguish, old Sam squalls and dances while socialist Cuba advances.

HAVANA, CUBA — Friends of Cuba from many parts of the world participated in the 5th Anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Among the many distinguished guests were: Hewlett Johnson, retired ex-dean of Canterbury, a Buddhist Monk from Southeast Asia; Quaison-Seckey, ambassador to the UN from Ghana; Madeira Keita, Minister of Justice of Mali; and Mr. & Mrs. Vernel Olson of Toronto, Canada. Mr. Olson is the National Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee of Canada. The Olsons are also distributors of THE CRUSADER.

Distributor of THE CRUSADER: Mrs. Olson
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NEWSLETTER

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, Publisher — IN EXILE —

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USA: THE POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

PART III

In 1964 when I first advanced the idea of the potential of a minority revolution in the USA, among other things, I was called a "species of maniac out of touch with reality". Again in 1965 when I extended my discourse on the potential of a minority revolution there was very little change in attitude and response from certain "sane" quarters. Now in 1967 again I endeavor to provoke serious consideration of this highly emotional and controversial question. This time I write with certain knowledge and facts derived from Watts, Chicago, Newark, Detroit, Milwaukee and more than a hundred other places. In this brief treatise it is not my objective to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. This is not meant to be a blueprint for revolution, but is meant to inject sobering thought into the minds of those jingoists who so arrogantly extol the myth of American invincibility. I want to explore America's weakness and to advance the study of the potential of a minority revolution.

Once again, I raise the question could a minority revolution succeed in racist America? It most certainly could! Theoretically, how could a minority segment win if it collectively decided to embark on such a serious course? Total revolutionary unity would be required among the youth and a strong revolutionary nationalist spirit would have to prevail throughout the land. The spirit of self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the triumph of a cause greater than any single individual, a feeling of confidence in ultimate victory, unshakable courage, and identification with the struggling oppressed peoples of the world would be some of the salient attributes for the success of a minority revolution. In keeping with the principles of people's war, wherein the great masses of exploited peoples of the world represent the rural masses surrounding the cities (the exploiting industrial countries) the Afro-American revolutionaries represent a mighty urban underground within the city. Our people must further develop and master people's warfare.

A high quality leadership would have to be developed. It must be wholly committed and devoted, selfless, devoid of ego, mentally alert, imaginative, fearless servants of the people acting as an instrument responding to the desires, necessities and aspirations of the revolutionary masses. All positions of leadership should be provisional on the basis of tried and proven performance in action. Selection on the basis of prestige is a form of accommodation that is inimical to effective struggle.

In racist, tyrannical and imperialist America the question of violence vs. passive resistance no longer confronts brutally oppressed black people. Savage and sadistical cops, racist terrorists and active bigots have already resolved the question of choices before us. They have decided for us in favor of violence. Now that violence is the only road left to brutally oppressed blacks, we have only to ponder the question of to what extent and methods we could respond in order to survive, in order to win. When one is forced to fight, he should fight desperately to win. If one is forced to resort to revolutionary violence to counteract

tyranny, he should spare no effort to overturn the system and destroy the structure that serves as a medium for oppression and tyranny. Such an effort requires political theory, political guidance, and a dynamic nationalist spirit, fired and sustained by an endless torrent of propaganda. It is essential that armed resistance to tyranny be vigorously supported by that indispensable weapon common called psychological warfare.

We must analyze and probe in depth the situations and conditions underlying the plight of our oppressed people in racist America today. Kidnapped Africans were introduced into America's slave society as implements of agriculture and production. Captive black people, in the minds of the molders of American society, were never meant to enjoy the benefits of American society but were to be utilized as machines to produce for its enrichment and glory. Capitalist America's transition from a primitive to an industrial state was greatly aided by its brutal exploitation and enslavement of savagely victimized black people. Sociologically speaking, the black man has never been respected as anything more than a machine of production and a vast reservoir for exploitation. Herein lies the great tragedy of our present miserable plight and the system's insoluble dilemma.

The capitalist system was predicted on the abuse and dehumanization of black people. It was partially designed and fashioned to glorify white supremacy and to liberate the European from feudalism at the expense of colored people. The pitiful cases of the American Indian and Mexico offer ample evidence that Americanism is an evilly constituted authority fashioned to generate brute power and to institutionalize the white man's right to exploit, rape, rob and plunder in the name of white civilization. Yes, poor whites are exploited too, but the supreme white authority has been careful, even from the beginning, to afford them escape hatches built into the system. Even their slavery, what little of it that existed, was not of a permanent nature. They elected to call it indentured. Even today a white skin still carries a certain significant premium. It is still a badge of status in the system of racial caste.

American racism is inherent in its economic and social system. This inherent social evil cannot be drastically rejected without completely altering the political, economic and social structure of the nation. White supremacy cannot afford to yield its master position without a complete transformation of its way of life. This means that it must discard its psychic make-up. It must discard its white supremacy arrogance and egotistical Americanism. The status quo is life to it. Its survival means, in its warped concept, that the black man must remain in the caste ascribed to him. It is not the nature of the oppressor to voluntarily relinquish his stranglehold on the oppressed. He may resort to deceit. He may feign, he may relax his pressure in order to gain a more firm control of the situation, but always his design is the same. He may shift his tactics. He may engage in a diversionary maneuver, but his objective is the same. It is always to perpetuate and to consolidate his power and privilege to oppress.

Each year uprisings and rioting, as a result of police brutality and oppression, become more and more extensive and ferocious. The gap between black and white is becoming ever more wide. Massive unemployment and hunger are symbols of the American way of life for the great masses of our people. In relation to justice for the black man, the U.S. legal system is a white supremacy instrument of kangarooism that sanctifies and dignifies the mayhem and cannibalism of white savagery practiced against America's captive black humanity. No sober thinking Black American can fail to see that fascist groups, with both overt and covert support on the part of the U.S. Government are gearing for a vicious campaign against our people. In the sense of the black man's original role as a machine of production, because of automation, he is becoming obsolete and the need for his labor and production is diminishing as rapidly as that of the ole mule in this modern age of mechanized farming.

It is a great myth to believe that the surplus black man is needed by the big boss to threaten the jobs of the poor whites. There is also developing a surplus of white workers with which to threaten whites. As far as necessity is concerned, blacks are not even considered in the picture any more. The power structure is moving might and main to develop a black bourgeoisie Uncle Tom buffer group to inhabit the schizoid no man's land between America's black and white worlds. This new class of nira zombies is supposed to represent America's show case of

democracy and multi-racial affluence. The power structure is stupid enough to believe that a crash program, aimed at integrating and elevating a small clique of good responsible nigras, will serve as a pacifier and sedative that will lull the ghetto masses to sleep until the program is over and the race problem is solved through intimidation, token integration and extermination. The white power forces in racist America are asinine enough to think that the black masses are so fantastically childish that they will be content to enjoy food, shelter, dignity and security vicariously; and that as long as they have examples of vulgarian Toms, who have made the suburban set, that this phenomenon within itself will allay the restive black masses' feeling of frustration, neglect and denial. White America feels no urgent need to relieve the oppressive and stifling colonial conditions of the black masses. The white man's relations with the black man in America are governed by an imperialist mentality. He sees no need to respond humanely to the black man's cry of anguish. His response is the club and the bullet. The masses are brutally subjected to the club while a microscopic, obedient and dog-loyal elite is transformed from peons to compradors. This old imperialist line of building a buffer class of petty bourgeois among the natives of the colony is a bankrupt policy. It is already obsolete and represents that stupid kind of folly hatched in reactionary minds haunted by the exigency of social change.

Dire poverty, dehumanization, brutal oppression, ruthless exploitation, terror and tyranny constitute the motive force that drives the victimized masses to a state of last resort. Man's final ultimate response to the tyrannical intransigence of an insensate power structure is revolution. Revolution is a final spark of hope that flares in the ashes of despair and the devastated faith in the institution of parliamentary buffoonery and demagoguery. Revolt is a natural human response to brutality sustained tyranny. The adamant colonial attitude of the racist, imperialist American power structure leaves the Afro-American but one of two choices; he must either meekly submit to tyranny and risk ultimate extermination or invoke the natural law of survival and resort to revolutionary resistance. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that he will turn to revolution and be determined to obtain victory at any price.

Theoretically, if the black man in America should elect to pursue the final course, what would he have to do in order to overturn tyranny? America's strength and weakness should be carefully analyzed. Strategically speaking America is a mighty giant with an exposed Achilles heel. The key to America's strength is its almost unlimited industrial capacity. Its staggering production is its life blood. From a military point of view it is also its greatest weakness. The American society is the most automated society in the world. It has become addicted to machinery. It has become enslaved by it. Without it it would soon wither and die like a green melon whose vine is severed from its roots.

Without consideration of the social and political ramifications of the evil systems of Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan, and strictly from a military point of view, we should study the causes of racist America's advantage during the Second World War. Aside from the effectiveness of dauntless allies, one very salient point is that fact the U.S. and allied air power was able to pulverize enemy production, communications and to greatly disrupt the normal scheme of life. While the enemy was made to suffer this disadvantage, American industrial power was allowed to intensely mobilize its abundant human and natural resources, rapidly expand and to fiercely feed the war effort unhampered. The American scheme of life was never violently disrupted and, relatively speaking, the civilian population was merely inconvenienced as a result of the war. In the past American production has been fortunate enough, because of technical limitations and geography, to escape the devastation of war. The fear of such devastation is the very reason the power structure is so hysterical about the proliferation of H-bombs and intercontinental rockets. Massive devastation of America's industrial centers would reduce it to a primitive nation.

The Afro-American is in range of the American giant's Achilles heel. American production, communications and the normal function of the affluent society are exposed to the Afro-American's natural revolutionary reaction to tyranny and oppression. A united, well organized, armed and trained Black America is a potential force to be reckoned with in its own right. The American case is a unique case. Any Afro-American revolt would consequently constitute a unique form of urban guerrilla warfare. The match and gasoline would be his most

effective weapon. Four hundred years of violent deprivation can be transformed into an indomitable fighting spirit that may burst forth on the American scene with an intensity more fierce than a hundred hydrogen bombs. The black man will have nothing to lose but his chains, while America has its very existence at stake. For it is better to live just 30 seconds in the glory of human dignity and freedom than to live a thousand years crawling in terror beneath the brutal foot that savagely maintains the tyrant's yoke of tyranny.

As the power structure applies ever more brutal repressive measures in response to the black man's just petition for social justice, a precision type urban guerilla warfare is the prerequisite for the black man's survival and liberation in racist America. Such a campaign must be well organized and coordinated. There must be a vast network of communications and central planning. No matter how primitive, black freedom-fighters must establish their own coded and clandestine communications system. There must be central planning and a national supreme command. Afro-American revolutionary forces must create a top-notch security agency. This agency must be responsible for the establishment of an efficient and extensive intelligence network. It must infiltrate the armed forces, the National Guard, the police, the FBI, the CIA, public utility services and all political groups, right, center and left. The power structure's facilities must be utilized to advance the cause of Afro-American liberation.

Such a revolutionary organization would require many facets. Armed defense guards would have to be formed throughout the land. These groups would be organized within the confines of the law. They would function only as defense units to safeguard life, limb and property in the ghetto communities. A tightly organized and highly mobile underground guerilla force would have to be clandestinely organized. This well-disciplined force would play a more aggressive role. It would be well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when deployed as snipers. Its mission would be retaliation, to visit attrition upon the enemy and to pin down and bring about a dispersal of his concentrated forces. This guerilla force must operate in small bands and know every inch of that part of the city where it is to operate. It must control its fire and use its ammunition sparingly. It must be highly mobile and constantly shift its position when sniping to avoid detection, death or capture. It must have a perfect understanding of its mission at all times. When operating in full view of great throngs of people, its members should cover or mask their faces to prevent revealing identity. It should handle its weapons with gloves, especially the captured ones, so as not to leave incriminating finger-prints on weapons that may later fall into the hands of repressive authority. These groups, while sniping and performing other missions of sabotage, should be extremely careful in avoiding death and injury to the friendly black population. Friendly property should be diligently protected and safeguarded. The guerilla forces must be so organized, coordinated and equipped as to prevent the power structure from rushing reinforcements to encircle and crush other defense groups engaged in battle with repressive forces by ambush, sniping, bombing and sabotaging roads. These people's warfare tactics must be executed in a fashion that will wreak frustration and exhaustion on the oppressive enemy forces.

A welfare corps would have to be formed. Persons with medical knowledge should be recruited and mobilized to care for the wounded during uprisings when many white hospitals and medical centers refuse or half-heartedly treat wounded black casualties. It should distribute food, aid victims of fire and look after the general welfare of the people. Such a corps should serve to build morale, encourage and educate the people to support the resistance fighters of the uprising and to maintain tight security about what takes place in the ghetto and as to what roles are played by certain individuals. It should raise funds in preparation for legal defense for those who fall into the vicious clutches of the kangaroo white supremacy law in the early stages, before the legal system is completely paralyzed.

The most aggressive and irrepressible arm of the overall organization would be the fire teams. They would work in complete secrecy and would be totally divorced in the organizational sense from the main bodies of defense and other forces. They would enjoy complete autonomy. The group's only tangible loyalty to them would be in times of distress. The fire teams' mission would be sabotage. Thousands of these groups would be organized throughout racist America. These teams would consist of from three to four persons. They would only know the members of their immediate team. They would not identify with the civil rights movement and would appear to be apathetic and even Uncle Toms. They would

At the same time the urban guerrilla must strike terror into the hearts of the enemy forces. He must be well disciplined, of high morale, devoid of ego and be able to work and think collectively. He must at all times project a double image. To the masses of the community he must project an image of a race-conscious politically mature brother whose unmistakable mission is to defend the human dignity of our downtrodden masses. His image should be that of a liberator rather than one of a thingy rioter engaged in an orgy of pointless plunder. He should be seen as a Black patriot and savior who is convinced that it is more honorable to fight and die in battle against oppression and tyranny directed against the black people of the ghettoes than to die in white men's wars of imperialism and the repression of freedom loving colored peoples abroad. He should equate his revolutionary actions, not to "looting" and "rioting", but to the spirit of the Boston Tea Party, the battles of Concord, Lexington and Valley Forge. He must feel and understand the nobility of his historical role; a role that affords him the opportunity of forging his own destiny and of bringing new direction to the world.

The fact that the power structure has called for an integrated National Guard that will be specially trained and equipped for countering urban guerrilla warfare will provide black revolutionaries with a never-before opportunity to illustrate the first line of the power structure's repressive arm and acquire the latest professional skills in military science and tactics and the handling of weapons. This is a golden opportunity that should be seized upon to the fullest extent. When security is tight and every individual concerned has been checked and double checked as a security risk, newly acquired tactical knowledge must be discussed and disseminated among small secret groups. Marksmanship and the handling and manipulation of weapons can be taught through the use of air rifles and pellet guns. Dummy rides can also be used to improve marksmanship, by cutting slots in cardboard boxes that will hold a rifle snugly in position. The box can be mounted on a chair or table facing a small target tacked to a wall. The trainee sights the rifle in on the bullseye of the target and leaves it in the position he thinks to be accurate. The experienced shooter or instructor looks down the gun sights of the weapon just as it was placed by the trainee and can ascertain to a certain degree the marksmanship of the trainee. This exercise is repeated until accurate sighting comes naturally to the pupil. This exercise must be supplemented by a series of exercises in the practice of trigger squeezing. The trainee can be taught the proper method of trigger control by slowly squeezing triggers on empty rifles until he perfects a method of sniping that requires an ability to squeeze the trigger with the minimum of jerk. The shooter should not anticipate when the rifle is going to fire. The shot should come as a surprise to him. A jerk or impatient pull of the trigger throws the rifle off target and makes for poor marksmanship.

Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare, however, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size of the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are 3 or 4 stories high. The jumbo size of the gasoline bomb can be made by using an empty syrup bottle of one gallon capacity. These gallon sized glass jugs are usually available around confectioneries, drug stores, restaurants and warehouses. Each is equipped with a screw-on cap and is fitted with a finger grip or a built-in ring by which to handle the bottle or jug with a single finger. This type of jug can be filled with almost three-fourths of gasoline, about one-fourth extra heavy motor oil with lubrication grease added. The screw-on cap should be tightened after which a tampanx, well soaked in gasoline, should be securely taped or wired to the jug. The soaked tampanx or well soaked rag is lit when the individual is ready to heave the Black Power Bomb. The glass jug or container breaks on impact thus igniting the gasoline, oil and grease resulting in a napalm-like effect. This is highly effective when heaved from a roof top into personnel (troop) carriers. It can also be thrown as a satchel charge against tanks and other armored vehicles. Satchel charges can deal deadly blows to armored vehicles. U.S. regulation type and instructions can be obtained from U.S. service men.

During the time of all out conflict selective fires must be set over a wide area. This spreads the enemy forces thin and makes the situation more difficult for him to control. During the height of the fire offensive, car patrols should roam widely separated sectors of the city with heavy duty adjustable wrenches. All

often times masquerade as super patriots and be more than willing, in a deceptive way, to cooperate with the police. There would be no official meetings and dis-

The mission of these thousands of active fire teams would be setting strategic fires. They could render America's cities and countryside impotent. They could travel from city to city placing lighted candles covered by large paper bags, allowing enough air at the bottom to allow the flame to burn until it burned to dry leaves and grass, thus devastating the forests. The length of the candle would be determined by the amount of time needed to clear the scene. At night the bag would conceal the light of the flame. While unsparingly setting the torch to everything that belongs to the enemy in the cities, and while concentrating on urban guerrilla warfare, the rural countryside would not be neglected. Aside from the devastating damage that could be visited upon the countryside, such a mission could serve a twofold purpose. It would also divert enemy forces from the urban centers. State forces would be forced to spread their ranks and would not be able to sustain massive troop concentrations in a single community. The heat and smoke generated from the miles of fires would render some of the highways impassable to repressive troop reinforcements. The rural countryside covers vast areas and would require exhaustive manpower, equipment and security forces. America cannot afford to allow its rich timber resources and crops to go up in smoke. The fire teams roving in automobiles would find unguarded rural objectives even more accessible. A few teams could start fires and miles of fires from one city to the other. The psychological impact would be tremendous. By day the billowing smoke would be seen for miles. By night the entire sky would reflect the holocaust and emit a feeling of impending doom.

What types of weapons should be in the arsenals of the Black Revolution? Guerrilla forces should rely heavily on simple and even homemade weapons. Much stress should be placed on obtaining highly portable weapons that are easily concealed. Soldiers on leave, AWOL, or recently discharged should be induced to play a very active part in the Black Revolution. Full use should be made of this personnel's military training and experience. They can give invaluable instructions in the use of heavy machine-guns, hand-grenades, anti-tank guns, bazookas and demolitions. Militant minded brothers in the service will be able to aid in securing weapons of all descriptions. Revolutionaries must keep a sharp look out for hustling troops whose greatest preoccupation in life is to play the chicks and the night life; for a few bucks they can become a great source for supplying much needed military gear.

There is a great need for the black revolutionary to become proficient in ambushing and seizing arms and equipment from the enemy oppressor. This includes even the capture and use of tanks and armored cars. Special effort should be made to locate and seize Minutemen and rightist fascist groups' caches. When U.S. Government surplus military and sporting goods stores are looked upon as a source of weapons, the heavier type of model airplane equipped for remote control can play a big role in urban guerrilla warfare. These model planes can be used to deliver hand-grenades to targets. Firing pins or mechanisms can be so constructed that the impact of a direct head-on collision will set off an explosion. Dynamic and other explosives and deadly chemicals can be utilized from these inaccessible targets like oil storage tanks, industrial chemical tanks, high tension power installation, armored cars, and troop carriers. They can also be used against inaccessible buildings and other targets that may require special attention.

The black revolutionary must become creative, must use his imagination, talent and training in the sacred cause of liberation. He must become consistently destructive in devising ways and means of harassing, bankrupting, exhausting, demoralizing, and destroying the enemy. He must not expend himself, his forces and supplies foolishly. While soberly respecting and analyzing the strength of the enemy, he must never fear him. He must seek the advantage of battle and be as certain as the realm of possibility will allow that skillfully planned and executed actions will heap great injury upon the enemy. Revolutionary forces must save themselves while destroying the enemy. Revolutionaries must make a strong bid for dramatic victories that will inspire the people, encourage them to want to participate in a war of dignity, retribution and liberation.

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fire hydrants in safe, isolated or deserted places should have their caps removed and valves completely opened. This will hamper and sometimes completely negate the power structure's fire fighting capacity. Fire is the black man in racist America's most effective weapon. It can be just as devastating as a hydrogen bomb. America is the black man's battleground and he cannot afford to hesitate to use whatever means necessary to remove the bitter and tragic consequences of almost 400 years of unmitigated white supremacy tyranny.

After initial incidents that trigger conflict with brutal police forces, Afro-Americans must more and more avoid massive congregation for confrontation. Fighters must quickly disperse and keep out of range of chemical sprays used to immobilize and identify freedom fighters. Some sprays can render the individual unconscious. Some types may result in permanent injury and may be used by the power structure unsparingly in a surreptitious campaign of genocide against the restive black masses. Snipers must always be conscious of the fact that even during night hours the sniper-scope, consisting of infra-red telescopes, can be used by enemy forces to zero in on their positions. The only defense against this is to fire and shift positions and to keep shifting positions and firing only at worth-while targets. The urban guerilla fighter must rely on the elements of mobility, speed, surprise, terror, a friendly environment, knowledge of the community, concealment and cover when possible. He must consciously concentrate on the enemy's weakness, attack him at his weakest point and avoid becoming a target of his massive power.

Possibly, if the brothers should want to devise an effective defense against the thug cops' chemical warfare, club attacks and vicious close range shooting, it may be necessary to send special representatives to Africa for specialized training in the manufacture and use of the poisonous dart. This simple, silent but deadly technique was highly successful when used by the Congolese revolutionaries against Tshombe's butchers. This could become a highly effective secret weapon in the arsenal of the Black Revolution in racist America. It could be most potent at night during confrontations with killer cops. These vicious mad dog butchers would never realize what hit them. This type of warfare must be waged under top secret conditions.

The "honky" cops and the racist power structure are deadly serious in their war against black people. Afro-Americans can expect no humane consideration from such insensate savages. They are cold-blooded killers and they have no qualms what-so-ever about massnering our helpless and defenseless people. We must respond in kind. During all confrontations with racist thug cops and their loyal black running dogs, black freedom fighters must realize that it is a do-or-die situation and must fiercely act in the most violent and desperately daring fashion as a matter of survival. The thug cops are devoid of all mercy. When they have the upper hand they will not hesitate to viciously butcher black people. Revolutionaries must remember that there is no second chance or appeal from death. In situations of such savage confrontations what is to be done must be carried out instantly before the beast squeezes the trigger. It is better to die in action and to take at least one of the enemy along, than to die as butchered swine by an unscathed sadistical beast who lives to kill again and again.

No method of terror or destruction against the oppressor should be overlooked in urban guerilla warfare. Freedom fighters should always try to invent and develop new methods of sabotage that can be carried out against targets of opportunity in particular areas. Students of electronics, chemistry and science should be organized and mobilized in a way that they can contribute greatly to the arsenal of the urban guerilla fighter. Fighters should also be able to obtain an almost unlimited supply of plastic bombs. When hardware stores and tool centers in department stores are raided compact sets of acetylene torches should rate high on the list of most desired weapons of struggle. These small portable sets can be ignited, set for slow cutting with the intense flame fixed to remain directed against gas mains, oil pipe lines, gas and oil storage tanks to effect explosions. If this is done at night the flame should be covered leaving a small space at the bottom of the cover for air while the flame is concealed to prevent detection. This set-up must be completed swiftly and the fighters must get as far away from the scene as fast as possible in order to avoid being caught in the explosion.

Revolution is not a festival and it must be approached with the utmost seriousness. Freedom is not a welfare commodity to be doled out as charity. It must

be seized and taken with the ferocity of a wounded tiger. Nobody is going to give the black man freedom. Nobody is going to give him justice. He must take it. America's brutal oppression of the black man justifies any means that he may find it necessary to resort to remove the consequences of the savage legacy of slavery and dehumanization. Relentless oppression breeds hatred, violence and war. America more than deserves all that is coming to her. Those who insist on following an evil road of tyranny and injustice must ultimately expect to meet a harsh judgment of retribution.

Americanism or American capitalism is synonymous with brutal exploitation and is motivated by a ruthless drive for super profits, wealth and power. American society is a caste in which the black man is psychologically molded as a sub-human. He is expected to faithfully play the part of a sub-human and to show gratitude to his white deformer and mental mutilator for even extending the meager generosity of allowing him to breathe the oppressive air of the master's slave kingdom. The black man is expected to passively submit to all debasing and aggressive liberties that the racist white man sees fit to take against his life, limb and fortune. The black man is not expected to entertain any principle or cause of his own that is worth making war for, that is worth dying for. The long suffering and brutally oppressed black man is expected to meekly and dutifully make war and die in response to the white man's orders. This slave mentality must be cast away forever. If he is to know justice and prosper, the black man must take up the sword in his own hand and in his own cause. With the sword of war he must hew liberty and justice out of the social mountain of oppression and tyranny. He can wash away the evil filth of America and cleanse its soul with the sacred blood of martyrs whose highest calling is revolution.

More and more the most thinking element of white America is beginning to concede the fact that the Afro-American is capable of a potential that could very well lead to the destruction of racist, imperialist America. However, the question is invariably asked: "How can such a small minority expect to control and reconstruct a vast nation wherein the oppressors constitute such a great majority?" The fact of the matter is that the tyrannical conspirator has already offered a solution to this problem through negative example. The plundering white head-hunter first appeared in the Indian's America as a very small minority. Once he broke the resistance of the courageous Indian, he solved the imbalance in red-white population by massive immigration. He encouraged everything with a white face to settle on the land that he had just robbed from the Indian. This same method of solving the racial imbalance was successful in Australia and New Zealand, and Zionists conquerors appear to have the same thing in mind in the Middle East today. For the first time in history, why can't America be opened to unlimited colored immigration? Why can it not logically pass from colored back to colored? It is a foregone conclusion, that even if whites were welcomed with open arms in such a just society, the overwhelming majority would resent living in an environment justly guided by colored power.

All degrees of white supremacists and their Uncle Tomboes and some honest, but retarded thinkers, are more than zealous in pointing out that a Black Revolution in racist America can never succeed because of the numerical superiority of white racists and the concentration of state power in the hands of the majority. These dismal hawkers of defeatism unwittingly concede the fact, through this argument, that America is a hopelessly racist country and that all whites can be counted on to fight to the death for the evil cause of slavery and tyranny. What scientific laws reserve the victory of battle for the majority? If revolutions should only be undertaken under conditions wherein the insurgents hold the advantage of numbers and the edge of power, what is the need for revolution? Such conditions would be conducive to parliamentary change. Revolution is the medium through which the underdog can overturn the top dog villain.

Capitalism operates on the profit system. Profit is the motive force that nurtures its growth. Profit is the reason for its existence. Without profit it would eventually wither and die. The life blood of U.S. Capitalism is its productive capacity and its extensive commerce. If these two factors were to become paralyzed and rendered sterile the orderly function of the governmental establishment would degenerate into a state of chaos, and the superstructure of the system would collapse. The American economy and its delicate and automated society cannot withstand any sustained and violent dislocation. Massive, violent disruption would set off a chain reaction that would fragment the entire nation and usher in an all-consuming state of anarchy. Out of the ashes of anarchy and chaos a new order could be reconstituted.

The more automated a society is the more vulnerable it is to forces of calamity. The American society's better half is the machine. The modern machine has become a soulless extension of the American anatomy. It is the indispensable crutch on which a lame American society limps toward human sterility. The machine has transformed the American society to that of a collective semi-invalid, greatly dependant on it for mobility. What would highly mechanized America be without electrical power? What would it be without modern transportation? What would it be without its industrial capacity? Yes, what would it be without the modern and luxurious facilities that it has grown so accustomed to?

The insensate power structure realizes its vulnerability. It realizes the potential consequences of a Black Revolution. The very thought of such a possibility throws it into panic and hysteria. No oppressive system wittingly and willingly goes to its doom passively. It fights desperately and brutally for its existence. It does not hesitate to unleash frantic pogroms and campaigns of genocide. It has no compunction about resorting to extreme measures of fascist repression. America is no exception. The alternatives ahead for Black America are bloody and violent revolution or meek submission to tyranny and Nazi-like extermination. Revolution is a serious and costly endeavor. In America it would claim untold numbers of human lives. Property damage would be immeasurable, but in the final analysis submission to tyranny would be an even more expensive proposition for the black population. The power structure has an alternative to the approaching holocaust. Its only hope is an intense crash program of total justice and equality and possibly a geographical separation. It is not the nature of tyrants to honor the petitions of their victims. The tyrant's response to such just demands is always unmitigated force. Tyrants always entertain the illusion that brute force is a panacea for social ills. They inevitably make the fatal mistake of thinking that violence is an invincible pillar of state hegemony.

The shrill voices of white supremacy fools are rising from the turmoil of social dislocation and hysterically calling for extermination of that segment of America now called the Black peril. They want America's consequences of long standing racial injustice solved by wiping the victim from the face of the earth. They are overwrought with the white man's self-appraisal of invincibility. They have no conception of the world today. They don't know what time it is. The vicious power structure can murder, maim, imprison and plunder but it cannot destroy Black America without destroying white America. The two are joined together in a forced and incompatible wedlock, they have been unable to learn to love each other and the head of the household is unwilling to make a property settlement. The head of the household wants to have his cake and eat it too. This is scientifically impossible.

Newark and Detroit were merely skirmishes of protest. Complete alienation is imminent. The black man is in for some rough days ahead. He will experience some jolting setbacks, but he will learn the hard way. Through negative examples he will learn the art of warfare. He will become steeled in his determination to overcome, and the conditions of battle will transform him into a fierce fighter. Great loss of life will not serve as a deterrent, but as a propellant. More and more the masses will come to realize that their greatest chance of survival lies in collective and fearless struggle. Anger will descend on the collective masses like a great torrent that flows from a crumbled dam. Such a force will be invincible. It will be powerfully driven by the fact that it has nothing to lose and a whole new world to gain. The great masses of Black Americans have nothing to lose, the power structure has everything that a ruling class can ever lose.

The cynics, the Uncle Toms, the capitulationists, the timid, and those socialists who disguise their white supremacy precepts behind a facade of pseudo-Marxism are more than blunt in reminding Black Americans that a minority revolution of black people cannot succeed in racist America. From a faulty dialectical point of view they have all of the stereotyped answers as to why such a noble undertaking is bound to fail. The prejudiced point of view is in the same vane as proclaiming that the Black African cannot run Africa without the white man. It is like saying that a youth is not mature enough to manage a responsible position. This negative view is the manifestation of either subconscious white supremacy or contempt for the black man's ability to match the white man in

wit or revolutionary capacity. It can be said to be tantamount to a white man approaching an all black work crew, being directed to a black supervisor, but instead turns to a white by-stander and asks if he is in charge of these black boys. He just cannot understand how a job can be carried out without the inevitable white brain and authority. We are invariably told that we cannot succeed without the master race.

Seven million Cubans can take a stand against the powerful USA and the whole world cheers and inspires them to resist. Fourteen million people in South Vietnam stand up to U.S. aggression and become the "Little David" against Goliath among the nations of the world. Two million Jews unleash aggression against one hundred million Arabs and the whole reactionary world cheers the success of their imperialist inspired aggression. More than twenty-two million Black Americans, who are massed in racist America's most sensitive regions, speak of massive resistance to genocide and tyranny and we are greeted with only the demoralizing words that "you can't win because you don't have a majority. You must have the good white folks on your side." And when we ask where are the good white folks and what is the formula for winning them to our side, there are no positive answers. In short, what we are being told is that we must have the white folks, and in-as-much as there is no possibility of their joining us, our cause is lost. In other words, we should do nothing other than to passively protest and make love to our oppressors and wait for them to fall in love with us on some vague and mythological date in the future.

Why should the black man in racist America love the white man? Why should the black man in racist America trust the white man? Is not the white man the one who created the hate barriers? Is he not the one who has betrayed and abused the black man? We know that there are white exceptions in racist America, but if we are going to be realistic we must concern ourselves with the rule rather than with the exception. Those who so readily proclaim to us that we cannot win such a conflict are sometimes actually expressing a secret wish. This is what they really hope. The same individuals who wish to convince us that we need the great white folks are also some of the very first ones to express a fear that the white masses will side with the power structure. The fact of the matter is that racism is a grand part of the American way of life. The great majority of the American working class constitutes a great manpower pool for world fascism and imperialism. They cannot be expected to change until the conditions that molded them are shattered. So long as the great majority of them remain the cream of the world's working class they cannot be expected to manifest any strong altruistic drive in the formulation of meaningful solidarity ties with their less fortunate and oppressed fellow workers throughout the world. The overwhelming majority of the American working class, at this historical moment, must be seen as the conservatives and, to a great extent, as the counter-revolutionaries that they are.

In a minority Black Revolution in racist and imperialist America, the best our people can hope for, as far as the white working class is concerned, is the strategic neutralization of a great portion of these unreliable racist masses. The black man cannot leave such an accomplishment to chance, either. This is why any all-out minority revolution must create a state of crisis wherein almost all of the white male population would be forced to remain in their homes to protect their property and families. A great factor in favor of the Afro-American is the fact that the middle class is very large. It is not accustomed to deprivation and terror. Because of its affluence, it has waxed soft. It has no stomach for massive fire, blood and violence. The motive force behind its life drive is its endless pursuit of prestige, conspicuous consumption and sensual pleasures.

A few years of violent, sporadic and highly destructive uprisings will set the stage for the grand finale. After the stage is properly set, through protracted struggle, big bad racist and imperialist America could be brought to her knees in 90 days of highly organized fierce fighting, sabotage and a massive firestorm. This would be a unique type of urban guerilla warfare that is only applicable to a highly industrialized and urbanized country like racist America. Such a campaign could only be mounted by a desperate and frantic people struggling for survival. This type of warfare must be based on the expediency of the last resort. This is the final hope of the brutally oppressed wherein intolerable misery has closed the hopeful gap between life and death.

The day of such a confrontation draws near. Time is running out. The power structure prepares to respond to just and prayerful petitioning with more brute

force, armour and steel. It has not learned its lesson in Vietnam. It has no understanding of the relativity of resistant violence to applied violence. Relative to revolutions and rebellions it is like a child who does not yet understand where babies come from; for it does not yet seem to know where rebellion comes from. Rebellion is born of oppression. Tyrants are the progenitors of revolution. Conditions of tyranny constitute the womb of revolution. Revolution is a Caesarean operation to facilitate the deliverance of the child of peace. It is the surgery needed to master the complications developed by a malfunctioning parliamentary delivery system.

Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist and imperialist America. Its chances of success today are better than at any previous time in history. America is an imperialist power with its tentacles spread around the world. Its greed makes it want to dominate the world. It has arrogantly proclaimed its hypocritical self savior of the entire world. The fact of the matter is that it can not even save itself. The American black man holds the balance of power in the world today. He holds the fate of America in his hands. The only thing left to the power structure is an alternative that its actions show that it has already rejected. Is there cause for a Black Revolution in racist and tyrannical America? Even by the evil white man's standard there is. And for the sake of those "responsible" wise men who are so prone to invoke the extremist indictment against those who believe in revolution and violence as the only forceful response to tyranny, I finally take refuge in a quote from that extremist document called **THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**:

"... Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

"Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."—Mao Tse-tung.

Coming soon:

AMERICA IS THE BLACK MAN'S BATTLEGROUND, A book by the editor of **THE CRUSADER** dealing with the experiences, propaganda, motivations and philosophy now transforming a nonviolent civil rights struggle into a national liberation movement based on urban guerilla warfare.

PROTEST THE BAN

The banning of **THE CRUSADER** Newsletter from the U.S. mails is yet another warning of an ominous nightmare of fascism hovering over America. The fact that Lyndon B. Johnson personally ordered a probe of the "content and mailability" one week prior to the summary and arbitrary ban offers undisputable evidence of the dictatorial nature of the Johnson regime. It constitutes a graphic example of Johnson's callous disregard for civil liberties and constitutional guarantees. The fact that the Johnson regime is openly and shamelessly soliciting the aid of postal authorities in Hong Kong in the enforcement of its fascist ban also proves that the Johnson gang expects the whole wide world to respond like ever-loyal running dogs to its every whim and command.

Since its inception nine years ago, as an organ of the Union County, North Carolina Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, **THE CRUSADER** has pursued an uncompromising policy of advocating

armed self-defense for brutally oppressed and terrorized black Americans. It has never wavered in its stand against imperialism, fascism, racism and the enemies of freedom, peace and justice. THE CRUSADER has always been a staunch advocate of the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution and equality for all Americans irrespective of race, creed or political persuasion, and from the very beginning maintained that the Afro-American struggle is part and parcel of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The summary punitive action taken against THE CRUSADER is an alarming indication of the rapid erosion of civil liberties in racist America. As a matter of constitutional preservation, it warrants the protest and active opposition of all Americans who believe in the right to dissent and freedom of press and speech.

Send a protest against the banning of THE CRUSADER to: Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D.C.

Help devise ways and means to frustrate postal authorities' ban on THE CRUSADER. Order copies today to pass along and to send to the brothers all messed up in the U.S. Armed Forces. THE CRUSADER is hurting the man, you dig? KEEP ON PUSHIN'.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, 1 TAI CHI CHANG, PEKING, CHINA

●—PRINTED IN CHINA AS A PERSONAL JOURNAL—●

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(NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or organization in this index.)

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